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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

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OF

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LIST OF MEMBERS.

SESSION XXXIII, 1880-81.

The names of Life Members are printed in SMALL CAPITALS, and those of Resident Members have an asterisk attached.

Date of Election.	
1872. Dec. 12	Abram, W. A. 42 *Adelaide terrace, Preston New Road, Blackburn.*
1877. Feb. 22	Adshead, George Haward. *Fern Villas,* 94 *Bolton Road, Pendleton, Manchester.*
1848. Nov. 23	AINSLIE, MONTAGUE. *Grizedale Hall, Hawkshead, Windermere.*
1871. Jan. 12	Andrew, Frank. *Apsley Place, Ashton-under-Lyne.*
1856. Dec. 4	Ansdell, John. *Cowley House, St. Helens.*
1848. Nov. 23	Ansdell, Richard, R.A. *Lytham House, St. Alban's road, Kensington, London. W.*
1857.	ATKINSON, WILLIAM. *Claremont, Promenade, Southport.*
1877. Dec. 13	*Atherton, Webster. 33 *The Temple, Dale street, Liverpool.*
1877. Dec. 13	Axon, W. E. A. *Fern Bank, Bowker street, Higher Broughton, Manchester.*
1865. Nov. 2	*Bailey, Francis James, L.R.C.P. 51, *Grove street, Liverpool.*
1876. Dec. 14	Bailey, John Eglington, F.S.A. *Egerton villa, Stretford, Manchester.*
1876. April 20	Bartle, Rev. George, D.D. *The College, Freshfield, Southport.*
1879. Feb. 20	Barton, Richard. *West Leigh Lodge, Leigh, Manchester.*

Date of Election.	
1862. Mar. 6	BAZLEY, SIR THOMAS, Bart., M.P. *Eyford Park, Stow-on-the-Wold, Gloucestershire.*
1849. Dec. 6	Beamont, William. *Orford Hall, Warrington.*
1848. Nov. 23	*Bell, Henry. *Greenfield, West Kirby, Cheshire.*
1875. Feb. 4	*Bellew, Thomas Acheson. 23 *Canning street, Liverpool.*
1864. Dec. 1	*Benas, B. L. *Imperial Buildings*, 5 *Dale street, Liverpool.*
1880. Jan. 8	*Bendall, Herbert. *The College, Shaw street, Liverpool.*
1848. Nov. 23	*Bennett, William. *Heysham Tower, Lancaster.*
1848. Nov. 23	*Blundell, Thomas Weld. *Ince Blundell Hall, Great Crosby.*
1853. Dec. 15	*Bossi, Arthur. *Care of Melly Brothers, Rumford street, Liverpool.*
1877. Dec. 13	Boulton, I. W. *Stamford House, Ashton-under-Lyne.*
	Bourne, Robert W. *Wick's lane, Formby.*
1858. April 15	*Bower, Anthony. *Seaforth, Liverpool.*
1855. Dec. 6	Bowes, John. *Warrington.*
1871. Mar. 23	*Brakell, Thomas Forster. 58 *Dale street, Liverpool.*
1848.	Bramley-Moore, John. *Gerard's Cross, Buckinghamshire.*
1854. Mar. 9.	*Bright, Henry Arthur, M.A. *Ashfield, Knotty Ash, Liverpool.*
1881. Dec. 15	Broadbent, Charles. *The Hollies, Latchford, Warrington.*
1876. April 20	Bromley, James. *The Homestead, Lathom, Ormskirk.*
1849. May 3	Brooke, Henry. *Ashbrook Hall, Church Minshull, Middlewich.*
1851. Mar. 6	BROOKE, SIR RICHARD, Bart. *Norton Priory, Runcorn.*
1868. Feb. 6	BROOKS, WILLIAM CUNLIFFE, M.P., F.S.A. *Barlow Hall, Manchester.*
1872. April 4	BROUGHTON, FREDERICK. *Hamilton, Canada.*
1875. Mar. 4	*Brown, Alexander, M.P. *Druid's Cross, Wavertree, Liverpool.*
1881. Jan. 27	Burnley Literary and Scientific Club. *Burnley.* (W. F. Grant, Honorary Secretary.)

Date of Election.	
1879. Jan. 9	*Caraher, Hugh. 51 *Vine street, Liverpool.*
1872. Sept. 5	Chadwick, David, M.P. 2 *Moorgate street, London, E.C.*
1872. Sept. 5	CHESTER, THE BISHOP OF. *The Palace, Deeside, Chester.*
1880. Jan. 22	Christie, Richard Copley, M.A., Chancellor of the Diocese of Manchester. *Darley House, Matlock, Derbyshire.*
1874. Dec. 10	*Clark, Henry. C 7 *Exchange Buildings, Liverpool.*
1859. April 14	CLEMENT, LEONARD. *Forest View, Nelson-in-Marsden, Burnley.*
1873. Dec. 11	Cockayne, Andreas E. *Congleton, Cheshire.*
1855. May 24	*COMBER, THOMAS. B 13 *Exchange Buildings, Liverpool.*
1848. Nov. 23	Crosse, Thomas Bright. *Shawe Hill, Chorley.*
1850. May 2	Crossley, James, F.S.A. *Stocks House, Cheetham, Manchester.*
1872. April 4	Crossley, John. *Arnscote, Westmoreland.*
1879. Dec. 11	*Culshaw, Alfred. *Rumford court, Rumford place, Liverpool.*
1850. May 2	*Dawson, Thomas. 26 *Rodney street, Liverpool.*
1857. April 23	DEVONSHIRE, THE DUKE OF, K.G. D.C.L. F.R.S. *Chatsworth, Derbyshire.*
1873. Dec. 11	Dixon, James. *Ormskirk.*
1880. Nov. 18	*Duff, E. Gordon. *Park Nook, Prince's Park, Liverpool.*
1879. Dec. 11	Dun, John. *Rock Villas, Latchford, Warrington.*
1873. Dec. 11	Earwaker, John Parsons, F.S.A. *Pensarn, Abergele, North Wales.*
1872. April 4	Ebury, The Lord. 35 *Park street, Grosvenor square, London, W.*
1862. Mar. 6	*Edwards, Edward. *Adelaide Buildings, Chapel street, Liverpool.*
1851. Jan. 7	EGERTON, HON. WILBRAHAM, M.P. *Rostherne Manor, Knutsford.*
1862. Mar. 6	EGERTON OF TATTON, THE LORD. *Tatton Park, Knutsford.*
1848. Nov. 23	EGERTON, SIR PHILIP DE MALPAS GREY, Bart. M.P. F.R.S. F.S.A. *Oulton Park, Tarporley.*

Date of Election.	
1848. Nov. 23	*Evans, Edward. 56 *Hanover street, Liverpool.*
1872. Sept. 5	Evans, Joseph. *Haydock Grange, St. Helens.*
1878. Jan. 10	Fairclough, John. *Warrington.*
1871. Jan. 12	FERGUSON, WILLIAM.
	ffarington, Miss. *Worden Hall, Preston.*
1880. April 1	Fishwick, Lieut.-Col. Henry, F.S.A. *The Heights, Rochdale.*
1857. May 7	Frackleton, Rev. S. S. *Magherahamlet, Ballynahinch, Dromore, Ireland.*
1853. Dec. 15	FRANKS, AUGUSTUS WOOLLASTON, F.R.S. F.S.A. *British Museum, London.*
1877. April 19	Gardiner, F. W. *Preston Banking Co., Ormskirk.*
1848. Dec. 14	*Gardner, Richard Cardwell. *Colonial Buildings,* 34 *Dale street, Liverpool.*
1875. Jan. 7	GARNETT, WILLIAM. *Quernmore Park, Lancaster.*
1848. Nov. 23	*Gaskell, John Rooth. *The Albany, Oldhall street, Liverpool.*
1880. Nov. 18	Gatty, A. S. *Rouge Dragon, Herald's College, London.*
1875. Dec. 5	*Gatty, Charles Tindal, F.S.A. *Free Public Museum, Liverpool.*
1870. April 7	Geddes, D. *Free Library, Blackburn.*
1867. April 11	*GENN, JOHN HAWKE. 3 *Jermyn street, Liverpool, S.*
1879. April 17	*Gibson, Rev. T. E. 72 *Liverpool road, Birkdale, Southport.*
1862. Mar. 6	GLADSTONE, RIGHT HON. WILLIAM EWART, M.P. *Hawarden Castle, Flintshire.*
1881. Dec. 15	Glazebrook, Michael George. 34 *Hawkshead street, Southport.*
1873. April 17	Gratrix, Samuel. *Alport Town, Deansgate, Manchester.*
1880. Feb. 5	*Grazebrook, George, F.S.A. *Oakhill park, Old Swan, Liverpool.*
1881. Jan. 27	Gray, Rev. Andrew E. P. *Wolsingham, Durham.*
1862. Dec. 4	GREEN, JOHN HENRY. *Buenos Ayres.*
1880. Nov. 18	Greenall, Henry. *Grappenhall Hall, Warrington.*
1880. Dec. 2	Greenall, Rev. Thomas, M.A., Hon. Canon of Chester. *Grappenhall Rectory, Warrington.*
1854. Aug. 31	Grenside, Rev. William Bent. *Melling Vicarage, Lancaster.*

Date of Election.	
	Hanby, Richard. *Cheetham Library, Manchester.*
1874. Dec. 10	Hance, E. W. M., LL.B. *School Board Office, Dale street, Liverpool.*
1856. Mar. 6	Hardwick, Charles. 72 *Talbot street, Moss-side, Manchester.*
1877. Dec. 13	*Harrison, James. *Mersey Chambers, Liverpool.*
1864. Feb. 9	HARROWBY, THE EARL OF, F.R.S. *Sandon Hall, Staffordshire.*
1857. April 23	HARTINGTON, THE MARQUESS OF, M.P. *Devonshire House*, 78 *Piccadilly, London.*
1864. Dec. 8	Heald, Thomas. *Greenfield House, Billinge, Wigan.*
1877. Feb. 8	Heginbotham, Henry. *Millgate, Stockport.*
1848. Nov. 23	HEYWOOD, JAMES, F.R.S. F.S.A. 26 *Kensington Palace Gardens, London W.*
1872. Sept. 5	HINMERS, W. *Cleveland House, Lancaster road, Eccles, Manchester.*
1871, Jan. 12	Hirst, John. *Ladcastle, Dobcross, Saddleworth, Manchester.*
1881. Dec. 15	Hodgkin, Thomas. *Benwelldene, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.*
1860. Jan. 12	*Holden, Adam. 48, *Church street, Liverpool.*
1856. Dec. 18	HOLDEN, THOMAS. *Springfield, Bolton.*
1872. Jan. 11	*Holme, James. 10 *Huskisson street, Liverpool.*
1854. Sept. 24	*Holt, William Durning. *Sandfield park, West Derby, Liverpool.*
1876. Feb. 10	HORLEY, REV. ENGELBERT, M.A. *The Rectory, Sefton, Liverpool.*
1872. Sept. 5	*Hornby, Thomas Dyson. *Olive Mount, Mill lane, Wavertree, Liverpool.*
1879. Dec. 11	Howorth, Henry H., F.S.A. *Derby House, Eccles, Manchester.*
1856. Dec. 4	*Howell, Edward. 26 *Church street, Liverpool.*
1849. Nov. 8	HOWSON, THE VERY REV. JOHN SAUL, D.D. *The Deanery, Chester.*
1854. April 6	Hughes, Thomas, F.S.A. *Grove terrace, Chester.*
1851.	Humberston, Philip Stapleton. *Glen y Wern, Denbigh.*

Date of Election.	
1848. Nov. 23	*Hume, Rev. Abraham, Hon. Canon of Liverpool, LL.D. D.C.L. F.S.A. 6 *Rupert lane, Everton, Liverpool.*
1870. Feb. 10	Hyde, John. *St. George's street, Cheetham Hill, Manchester.*
1852. April 1	*Jacob, John Gibborn. 56 *Church street, Liverpool.*
1848. Nov. 23	Jacson, Charles R. *Barton Hall, Preston.*
1858. Dec. 2	*Jones, Robert. 7 *Batchelor street, Liverpool.*
1881. Jan. 27	Jones, T. R. *Bank House, Market Drayton.*
1849. May 3	Kendrick, James, M.D. *Warrington.*
1863. Nov. 5	*King, John Thomson. 4 *Clayton square, Liverpool.*
1862. Dec. 4	*King, Col. Vincent Ashfield. *Point of Ayr, Oxton, Birkenhead.*
1876. Dec. 14	*Laird, John. *Oak House, Grosvenor road, Oxton, Birkenhead.*
1872. April 4	Lathom, The Earl of. *Lathom House, Ormskirk.*
1872. Sept. 5	*Ledward Septimus. *Hill Bark, Frankby, Birkenhead.*
1880. Jan. 8	*Leeming, William. *Eaton House, Eaton road, West Derby, Liverpool.*
1881. Dec. 15	Leyland, John. *The Grange, Hindley, Wigan.*
1880. Jan. 8	Lightfoot, John E. *Quarry Hill, Accrington.*
	*Livesey Miss Lucilla B. 2 *Prince's Avenue, Prince's road, Liverpool.*
1880. April 1	Long, William. *Thelwall Heyes, Warrington.*
1862. Mar. 6	McCorquodale, Col. George. *The Willows, Newton-le-Willows.*
1858. April 15	*McInnes, John. 23 *Lightbody street, Liverpool.*
1864. Dec. 1.	Marson, James. *Hill Cliff, Warrington.*
1872. Sept. 5	Mason, Hugh, M.P. *Groby Hall, Ashton-under-Lyne.*
1874. Feb. 18	*Mawdesley, James Platt. 4 *Castle street, Liverpool.*
1848. Nov. 23	*Mayer, Joseph, F.S.A. *Pennant House, Bebington, Cheshire.*
1876. Mar. 20	*Mercer, T. W. 110 *Canning street, Liverpool.*
1880. Dec. 2	Monk, James B. Lingard, M.A. *Alderley Edge, near Manchester.*
1857. Dec. 3	*Moore, Rev. Richard R., M.A. *Prescot road, St. Helens.*

Date of Election.	
1849. Nov. 8	Moore, Rev. Thomas. *Midleton College, County of Cork, Ireland.*
1880. April 1	Morris, Claude John. The Mount, Altrincham.
1848. Nov. 23	Moss, Rev. John James, LL.D. *East Lydford Rectory, Somerset.*
1857. Jan. 15	Naylor, Richard Christopher. *Kelmarsh Hall, Northampton.*
1874. Dec. 10	Nicholson, Edward Joseph. *Grappenhall, Warrington.*
1848. Nov. 23	Nicholson, James, F.S.A. *Thelwall Hall, Warrington.*
1881. Dec. 15	*Odgers, Rev. James Edwin, M.A., Fellow of University College, London. 11 *Bertram road, Liverpool.*
1880. Jan. 8	Paley Edward G. *Lancaster.*
1871. Jan. 12	Patterson, James, 11 *Palmyra square, Warrington.*
1871. Feb. 9	Pearson, John E. *Golborne Park, Newton-le-Willows.*
1860. Mar. 21	Petty, Thomas Shaw. *Stockbridge, Ulverston.*
1849. Jan. 6	*Picton, Sir James Allanson, F.S.A. *Sandy Knowe, Wavertree, Liverpool.*
1877. Dec. 13	Pierpoint, Robert. *Windham Club, St. James' square, London, W.*
1848. Nov. 23	Pilkington James. *Park Place House, Blackburn.*
1853. Feb. 10	Platt, Robert. *Stalybridge.*
1878. Feb. 7	*Potter, Charles. 101 *Miles street, Toxteth Park, Liverpool.*
1881. Dec. 1	*Powell, Thomas, M.A. *Bootle College, Bootle. Liverpool.*
1857. Mar. 12	*Preston, George Theophilus Robert. 13 *Vernon street, Liverpool; and Ellel Grange, Lancaster.*
1879. Jan. 8	*Radcliffe, Richard Duncan. *Darley, Old Swan, Liverpool.*
1879. Dec. 11	*Rathbone, Philip Henry. *Greenbank Cottage, Wavertree, Liverpool.*
1874. Dec. 10	*Rathbone, Samuel Greg. *Yew Tree House, Allerton, Liverpool.*
1855. Dec. 20	Robin, Rev. P. R. *Woodchurch, Birkenhead.*
1874. Dec. 10	*Rogerson George Russell. 5 *Cook street, Liverpool.*

Date of Election.	
1876. April 20	Roper, William O. *Lancaster.*
1870. Nov. 3	*Rylands, John Paul, F.S.A. *Highfields, Thelwall, Warrington.*
1854. Sept. 25	Rylands, Peter, M.P. *Massey Hall, Warrington.*
1854. Dec. 13	*Rylands, Thomas Glazebrook, F.S.A. *Highfields, Thelwall, Warrington.*
1874. Dec. 10	Rylands, William Harry, F.S.A. *Society of Biblical Archæology, 11 Hart street, London, W.C.*
1872. Mar. 21	Salisbury, The Marquess of. *Hatfield, Herts.*
1874- Dec. 10	*Salthouse, Rev. Robert. *St. James' Parsonage, West Derby, Liverpool.*
1872. Sept. 5	*Sefton, The Earl of. *Croxteth Hall, Liverpool.*
1853. June 2	Sharp, William. 29 *Albert gate, Hyde Park, London.*
1880. Mar. 4	Sharp, William. *Sankey street, Warrington.*
1879. Dec. 11	Sherratt, James S. *Bold street, Warrington.*
1881. Dec. 15	Simpson, Herbert Orry. *Kingston House, Chester.*
1848. Nov. 23	Simpson, Rev. Samuel. *Kingston House, Chester.*
	Smith, E. W. B. *District Co-operative Society, Bury.*
1863. April 16	Smith, Henry Ecroyd. *Saffron-Walden, Essex.*
1856. Jan. 3	Staniforth, Rev. Thomas. *Storrs Hall, Windermere.*
1880. April 1	Stanning, Rev. Joseph Heaton. *The Vicarage, Leigh, Lancashire.*
1863. Feb. 5	Steele, Alexander, sen. LL.D. *Strathallan Hall, Douglas, Isle of Man.*
1876. April 6	*Stewart, Rev. Alexander, M.A. 29, *Sandon street, Liverpool.*
	Stockport Free Public Library. *Stockport.*
1852. Mar. 4	*Sykes, James. 115 *Dale street, Liverpool; and Breck House, Poulton-le-Fylde.*
1880. Nov. 18	Taylor, Henry. 4 *Buckingham crescent, Victoria Park, Manchester.*
1872. Sept. 5	Taylor, James. *Whitley Hall, Wigan.*
1867. Jan. 17	Thorp, Henry. *Alderhurst, Marlborough road, Sale, Manchester.*
1879. Mar. 6	*Turner, Lieut.-Col. William. *The Athenæum, Church street, Liverpool.*

Date of Election.	
1848. Nov. 23	VARTY, THOMAS. *Stag Stones, Penrith.*
1869. Dec. 16	Vaudrey, Benjamin Llewellyn. *Tushingham Hall, Whitchurch.*
1872. Dec. 12	Veevers, R. *Woningworth, Fulwood Park, Preston.*
1873. Dec. 11	Waddington, W. A. 16, *Piccadilly road, Burnley.*
1880. Nov. 18	Walker, T. Shadford. 88 *Rodney street, Liverpool.*
1867. Dec. 12	*Walmsley, Gilbert G. 50 *Lord street, Liverpool.*
1851. Mar. 6	Warburton, Rowland Eyles Egerton. *Arley Hall, Northwich, Cheshire.*
1861. Dec. 5	*Waterhouse, Nicholas, 54 *Durning road, Liverpool.*
1849. Feb. 1	*Webster, George. 6 *York Buildings, Dale street, Liverpool; and Overchurch hill, Upton, Cheshire.*
1856. Jan. 3	WELTON, THOMAS A. 6 *Offerton road, London, S.W.*
1862 Mar. 13	Westminster, The Duke of. *Eaton Hall, Chester.*
1851. Oct. 9	Whitley, Rev. John. *Newton-in-Makerfield Rectory, Newton-le-Willows, Lancashire.*
1879. Dec. 11	Willett, Henry. *Arnold House, Brighton.*
1861. Feb. 14	Wilson, J. M. *Hardshaw street, St. Helens.*
1850. Mar. 4	WINMARLEIGH, THE LORD. *Winmarleigh House, Garstang.*
1865. Dec. 7	WOOD, RICHARD HENRY, F.S.A. *Penrhos House, Rugby.*
1855. May 7	WOODHOUSE, JOHN GEORGE. *Burg Hill, Hereford.*

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS.

1880. Oct. 5	*Morton, T. N. 1 *Thorburn street, Edge Hill, Liverpool.*
1880. Oct. 5	*Watkin, W. T. 226 *West Derby road, Liverpool.*

HONORARY MEMBERS.

1854. Sept. 27	Babington, Charles Cardale, F.S.A. 5 *Brookside, Cambridge.*
1880. Oct. 5	Burke, Sir John Bernard, C.B. LL.D., Ulster King of Arms. *The Castle, Dublin.*

Date of Election.	
1855. Feb. 1	Clarke, Joseph, F.S.A. *The Roos, Saffron-Walden, Essex.*
1875. Jan. 7	Coughtrey, Millen. *London street, Otago, New Zealand.*
1880. Oct. 5	Dean, John Ward. 18 *Somerset street, Boston, Mass. United States of America.*
1870. Sept. 13	Hooker, Sir Joseph Dalton, C.B. *Kew Gardens, London.*
1870. Sept. 13	Huxley, Thomas Henry, F.R.S. 4 *Marlborough Place, St. John's Wood, London.*
1854. Sept. 27	Latham, R. Gordon, M.D. 96 *Disraeli road, Putney, London.*
1870. Sept. 13	Lubbock, Sir John, Bart. M.P. F.R.S. F.S.A. *High Elms, Farnborough, Kent.*
1852. Dec. 9	MacAdam, Robert. 18 *College square East, Belfast.*
1854. Sept. 27	Owen, Richard, C.B. F.R.S. *British Museum, London.*
1880. Oct. 5	Ruskin, John, LL.D, *Brantwood, Coniston, Lancashire.*
1854. Sept. 27	Sabine, General Sir Edward, F.R.S. 13 *Ashley place, London, S. W.*
1851. Feb. 6	Smith, Charles Roach, F.S.A. *Temple place, Strood, Kent.*
1870. Sept. 13	Stokes, George Gabriel, LL.D. *Pembroke College, Cambridge.*
1870. Sept. 13	Tyndall, John, F.R.S. 21 *Albemarle street, London.*
1870. Jan. 20	Walcott, Rev. Mackenzie Edward Charles, F.S.A. 58 *Belgrave road, London, S. W.*

TRANSACTIONS.

SOME OLD COUNTRY SPORTS.—FROM THE CROSBY RECORDS.

By the Rev. T. E. Gibson.

(Read 2nd December, 1880.)

IN the present paper I propose to gather together from the annals of the Blundells, of Crosby, such notices of country out-door amusements as may be found in them. It would be foreign to my object to trace their origin or history. Many pens have been employed upon this attractive theme, and few, if any, of the sports or customs mentioned in these pages were of an exclusively local character. Let us begin with—

1. HORSE-RACING.

And here I cannot help remarking how closely the Molyneux family has been identified from very early times, not merely with the fortunes, but with the out-door recreations of the inhabitants of this great city. The wealth of its corporation is in no small degree derived from the early and favourable purchase from that family of its manorial rights. At the present day the Earl of Sefton provides for Liverpool the best race-course, the best coursing ground, the best shooting ranges, and the best skating meadows. He has also given many facilities for the practice of the national game of cricket, of which he is a well-known patron. With this enumeration we have summed up all the important

sources of out-door enjoyment which are available for its inhabitants. Nor is this list complete without the addition of Sefton Park. It is true that this site was purchased for a considerable sum of money, but the opportunity of acquiring so large an area in a similarly advantageous position might have been sought for elsewhere in vain. It would have been an ungracious act to have passed over the occasion of paying the compliment of naming the park after a family to which Liverpool is so much indebted.

This paper relates to much earlier times, but even then we find the same connexion existing. One of the notes of Wm. Blundell, the cavalier, recently published* is thus worded :—

"This course as it is now used upon the marshes of Great "and Little Crosby was stooped out by me A.D. 1654, at the "request of Richard, Lord Molyneux."

In the same note, written in 1663, he speaks of the old Liverpool course (standing partly even with a part of Crosby course) having been measured out by his father. Now his father, Nicholas Blundell, died in 1631, so that we have here a very early notice of a Liverpool race-course at Crosby. It will be new to most people to hear of the Liverpool races having their location at Crosby, but so it was, and that for no inconsiderable period. No doubt the civil war in which the country was soon after embroiled would lead to the disuse of the course. It was on the cessation of this internecine struggle that the cavalier measured the course anew at the request of Lord Molyneux. The site of this new course, which was called Crosby and not Liverpool course, must have belonged chiefly to Lord Molyneux and partly to Wm. Blundell himself. The marshes have long since disappeared, but as Mr. Blundell mentions Moorhouse marsh, it is clear that the course must have been near what is still called the Moorhouses, and therefore on the low ground at the back of Great Crosby. The cavalier says that about 1683 he procured a great change in this course, bringing the starting point and end of the course to Great Crosby instead of Moorhouse Marsh.

* *A Cavalier's Note Book*, p. 222.

Being on the spot, Lord Molyneux seems to have entrusted Mr. Blundell with the management of the races, and he accordingly drew up the rules of a meeting there for races, on the first Monday in August, 1682. These regulations, which are inserted in *A Cavalier's Note Book*, no doubt differ much from what are now in use. The first article declares that "a piece of silver "plate or plate consisting of sundry pieces of silver shall be "exposed upon the stoop commonly called the chair, where the "horse course at Crosby doth usually begin and end." The horses had to be drawn out on the race-day at 2 p.m., and every horse was to weigh, with rider, &c., exactly ten stone. He says that the course had been long disused, and it is doubtful if there were at any period settled annual races at Crosby. It was generally used for matches, and the horses were mostly from Liverpool. It is clear from Mr. Blundell's notes that there was no enclosure of any kind, but the course was marked out by stoops or posts at appropriate distances. It was not continuous, as is now the fashion, but the riders had to follow the same lines, returning to the starting post after having rounded the stoop at the opposite end. Another matter is rather curious, viz.: that the first horse did not win unless he distanced the others, the distance post being 240 yards behind the winning post. If no horse won on these terms, a second and third heat was to be tried; and if there was still no winner, then the horse that succeeded in coming in first in two out of three heats was to have the plate. After the race a flagon of beer was to be given to each rider before he entered the scales.

Crosby course would, excepting on the occasion of a race day, be hardly recognisable as such. Some temporary accommodation may have been afforded to visitors, but it is difficult to see how order could be preserved. Perhaps the gatherings were not large enough to occasion much trouble to the managers of these meetings. No doubt there was the usual motley throng of low caterers for the public amusement. We know from Mr. Blundell's notes that one institution, with which modern race-goers are not unfamiliar, existed in full force. The following anecdote from

the *Cavalier's Note Book*, though already in print, I quote, as it is short, and many here present may not have seen it.*

"The same old beggar whom I have mentioned before, used "to beg in a rhetorical bold way at the races on Crosby marsh, "and he would flatter the noble gentlemen and tell aloud what "gallant houses they kept. His importunity there was insuffer- "able. I did there once see a gentleman cast a shilling to him "saying 'A pox o' God take thee!' The boldest wandering "beggars (and a Bedlam one, Medcalf, above all others) ever "speeded the best at these races, whilst the truly poor widows "and orphans who lived in the parish, found little effect there of "their modest low way of begging. Tom Arnold told me that "he saw at night near that place thirty or forty of these wandering "beggars at Rogerson's, a paltry alehouse, spending the money "they had gotten at the race."

With regard to the length of Crosby course, Mr. Blundell says that in June, 1695, he caused his man, Walter Thelwall, to measure it with a chain, and the result was that it measured 403 roods 4 fathoms, which being twice ridden over gives a total of 807 roods. Each rood, he says, was 24 feet, so that the whole course would be pretty nearly three miles and two-thirds of a mile. This is more than double the length of the present race-course at Aintree.

Coming now to the early part of the 18th century, I find in the unpublished diary of Nicholas Blundell, grandson to the cavalier, 1702—28, occasional mention of races, or rather of matches, run off on Crosby marsh. These occur at different periods of the year, from which I infer that there was no fixed time for such meetings. If this had been the case, the time fixed upon could have been easily ascertained, as the diary is very copious, and would certainly have contained such recurring notices. Moreover, Mr. Blundell was fond of such sports, and records frequent visits to distant places to witness races, cockfights, &c. His first notice

* *A Cavalier's Note Book*, p. 214.

of this character is in 1703, where, under date January 4, we find this entry :—

"I was at Great Crosby race, where Mr. Massey's 'Limberham' "won a plate from 'Pedlar.'"

This would be Mr. Massey, of Puddington, which estate eventually came to the Stanleys of Hooton. "Pedlar" was owned by James, son of Sir James Poole, Bart., of Poole Hall, Cheshire, a title and family now extinct. Again, on July 3rd, 1704, he writes :—

"I was at Great Crosby race between Mr. Silvester Richmond's "bay mare, and Mr. Atherton's gray."

The Richmonds are well known in connection with the rising fortunes of Liverpool, and Mr. Blundell, the cavalier, speaks of the great hospitality exercised by the Silvester Richmond who was Mayor of Liverpool in his time.

On the 16th July in the same year, the diarist tells us that Lord Molineux, old Mr. Trafford of Trafford, and himself were on Crosby marsh to see the horses sweat. From this and other entries it appears that Lord Molineux kept his race-horses at Crosby. His trainer was Marmaduke Maltus, commonly called Duke Maltus. Mr. Blundell is a frequent visitor at Duke's, who, in 1708, had six horses under his charge.

The next reference to Great Crosby races is 1706. "April 2nd, "I was at a race at Great Crosby, when Mr. Molineux's horse "beat a mare of Mr. Molineux of Mosborough."

Mosborough Hall, near Rainford, belonged at that time to a branch of the Sefton family. Lord Derby now owns it, and his agent, Mr. Howat, resides there. The hall has been restored, but the moat formerly around it may still be traced.

On 6th April, 1709, he goes with Lord Mountgarret, his son Richard, and Sir James Poole to Duke's, where they drink a bowl of punch and see the three running horses. Lord Mountgarret was cousin or rather second cousin to Mr. Blundell; the lord's father having married the cavalier's daughter. He was then living quietly at Ormskirk, having been attainted for his loyalty to King

James. He was captain of a horse regiment at the siege of Derry, and was taken prisoner in a gallant but ill-judged attempt to surprise the garrison. He was restored in blood and honours, 1721.

On 18th October, 1709, at the time of Great Crosby goose feast, an institution which still survives, Mr. Blundell has this entry :—

"Lord Mountgarret and his son dined here. I went with them "to Great Crosby goose feast. We eat at Wm. Tarleton's. We "went to a race on Crosby marsh between a black mare of John "Gerard's, of Garswood, and a bay mare of Liverpool."

Some years elapse before we meet with another notice of a Crosby race. Perhaps this may be attributed to a waning eagerness for such sports on the part of the diarist. On 15th June, 1713, he witnesses a race, in company with Mr. Trafford of Croston. After another lapse of five years we read :—

"1718, September 1st. I was at the Galloway race on Crosby "march, and was in the chair with my Lord Darby and my Lord "Molineux. Four horses ran, and Mr. Boslom's won."

He had previously been commissioned to arrange the course and fix the distance post, which shows that the ground had been disused for some time. On 15th April, 1719, he records a race of four hunters at Great Crosby, for a plate, which was won by Mr. Cleaveland. This would probably be Mr. Wm. Cleveland, M.P. for Liverpool in 1722.

In 1713 the diarist has an interesting entry relating to a contested election in Liverpool, Mr. Cleveland being one of the candidates :—

"1713, Aug. 22. I went to Leverpool and saw Sr Thomas "Johnson come into town from London. His party had tobacco "gilded in their hats, and the opposite party, viz., Mr. Clayton "and Mr. Cleaveland, had the mitre. There was great squab- "bling about the election of some of them for Parliament men."

The members returned on this occasion were Sir Thomas Johnson and Mr. Clayton.

In the same year we have another entry, in which he speaks of a booth erected on the course :–

"1719, August 25. Mr. Scarisbrick and his son dined here, "and then we went to Great Crosby race, where six ran for the "plate. A cropped horse of Lord Molyneux's won it. I drank "in a booth with my Lord Molineux, Mr. Molineux of Mos- "borough, Mr. Wofold, &c. I gave one guinea to Mr. Syer, "being what I had subscribed and towards the plate."

By Mr. Wofold he means Mr. Wolfall, belonging to an ancient family seated at Wolfall Hall, but long since extinct. This Mr. Wolfall I take to be the son of Mr. Wm. Wolfall, who resided at Moor Hall, near Ormskirk, where he died the previous year, and Mr. Blundell attended his funeral at Huyton Church.

The following day there was a galloway race at Crosby, where Lord Molineux's black "Rowley" beat a mare of Mr. Hesketh's. Black "Rowley" was the well-known nickname of Charles II.

On 30th June, 1720, Mr. Scarisbrick and his James are again staying with him at the Hall, and they go together to Crosby race, where Lord Molineux's "Crop" beat a white horse called "Crutches." He says that Mr. Plumbe and his son were on the ground. Mr. Plumbe was a successful solicitor of Liverpool, who acquired considerable property. The late Col. P. Tempest possessed the estate which he purchased in the neighbourhood of Aughton. Mr. Plumbe built a house at Wavertree, and Mr. Blundell sent him, on 22nd May, 1722, two dozen young pigeons to stock his dovecote. He was his lawyer, and held his court for him at Little Crosby.

If any one at the present day can be at all interested in learning what horses Lord Molineux had in training at Duke's, in the year of grace, 1720, I am able to gratify his curiosity. They were five in number, and respectively named, "Foxhunter," "Stroaker," "Sobriety," "Crop," and his black galloway "Darcy."

We have another match on Crosby marsh, noted as coming off on 13th October, 1720, between Mr. Haskayne's bay mare and a gray mare of Mr. Entwistle's. The diarist adds—"I won some

"money off Jack Sefton. When the race was over I drank at "Thos. Hesketh's with Parson Acton, Parson Wareing, Mr. "Hulme the Attorney, Mr. Whittle, Byron, &c."

Parson Acton was doing duty for the Rector of Sefton, and Parson Wareing master of the Grammar School at Great Crosby, as his father had been before him. The father was a particular friend of Mr. Blundell's, and what may be called a boon companion, as they are constantly meeting at places where such meetings involved drinkings.

In August, 1721, there were two days' racing at Crosby, but Mr. Blundell came on the ground too late on the second day. "1721, August 8. I was at Crosby Race; 'Crop,' 'White "'Stockings,' and a Gray Mare Ran. 'White Stockings' got the "plate, £20." This is the first entry in which he names the value of the plate, a modest sum compared with the prizes at Aintree in modern times.

On 29th August, 1722, "Stockings," which belonged to Lord Derby, beat Lord Molineux's black galloway "Darcy" in a match at Crosby. Mr. Plumbe and his son were present at the match.

On 27th August, 1724, he mentions a race between a gray gelding of one Stirrup, of Warrington, and a black Derbyshire mare. "After the race was over I went to Hesketh's, where "young Mr. Standish, Mr. Harrington, &c., bowled. When we "went into the house Mr. Harrington, I, &c., played at 'even "'and odd.'"

The young Mr. Standish would be Ralph Standish, afterwards of Standish, who became a suitor for the hand of Mr. Blundell's daughter Mary, but she finally refused him.

The diarist continues to record races on Crosby marsh, but they lose much of their interest from the absence of Lord Molineux's horses, who had, for some reason or other, transferred his training stud to Wallasey. On 19th September, 1726, when he notices that the winner, a mare belonging to Mr. Makins, of Prescot, had already scored three races, there were present Mr. Stanley of Cross Hall, Mr. Haskayne, Mr. Bury the attorney, Mr. Halsall of Liverpool, Mr. Wm. Plumbe, Mr. Kennion, &c.

The last entries relating to Crosby occur on 19th September, 1727, when a purse of thirty pounds was contended for; and on the 21st of the same month, when five pounds was the value of the stake. How long there may have been races after that period I know not, as the Diary closes abruptly on 4th April, 1728, although Mr. Blundell survived till 1737. There had already been some talk of enclosing the marsh. Meetings had been held, and some sort of arrangement had been concluded concerning it.

With regard to other races in the neighbourhood, Mr. Blundell gives most prominence to those at Aughton Moss, near Ormskirk. These meetings seem to have been held pretty regularly; and though they are only mentioned in the earlier portion of the Diary, this is sufficiently accounted for by the fact, that Mr. Blundell rarely attended them after his kinsman Lord Mountgarret had left Ormskirk. Aughton Moss races held their ground till within the present century: I think they were discontinued about 1818. A few entries relating to them will suffice for citation here.

"1705, October 9. I went to the Race on Oughton Moss "where Mr. Darcy's 'Cricket' beat the famous London 'Dimple' "and 2 others."

It will require some one better versed in the history of horse-racing than I can pretend to be, to say who was the owner of "Dimple," and what were the performances which had rendered her famous. He attends these races in other years without anything worthy of note, excepting, perhaps, that, as in the case of Crosby, there seems to have been no fixed time for an annual meeting. In 1710, five horses ran, and the plate was won by a horse belonging to Lord Cholmondeley. Two years later, in 1712, on 13th and 14th May, there were races at Ormskirk, to which the diarist took his wife and daughter in his coach. He names as present Lord and Lady Petre, Lawyer Starkey, and Parson Letus of Sefton. Lawyer Starkey was the ancestor of the present Mr. Starkie of Huntroyd. On this occasion Lord Molineux's "Darcy" and a Yorkshire horse were beaten by one belonging to a Mr. Batters.

The next entry may be noticed:—"1711, April 3. Coz. "Scaresbrick I and our wives went to a race on Aughton Moss "where a gray mare from Bretherton run against a bay mare "from towards Clitherow, &c. When the race was past, Mr. "Scaresbrick and I went to Lancet's, the sign of the Queen's "Head, in Ormskirk, where we drunk wine with Sir Thomas "Stanley, Mr. Stanley his son, Captain Standish, Parson Hindley "of Aughton, Mr. Ashurst of Ashurst, &c."

These Stanleys were of Bickerstaffe, and in 1736 Sir Edward Stanley of this line became Earl of Derby, through the failure of the elder branch. He was the ancestor of the present earl.

Other races, attended by Mr. Blundell from time to time, take place at Wallasey, at Childwall, and Liverpool. The last-named races seem to have come off on Liverpool sands.

And now, as it is highly probable that you have had enough of horse-racing, let us turn our attention to another subject—the recreation of bowls.

2. Bowling.

If race-horses got out of gear at Crosby, its inhabitants never lost their interest in the manly sport here specified. Long into the previous century the neighbourhood of Crosby had attained more than a local celebrity for this healthful recreation. Thus we find in a letter of the cavalier, written in 1668, the following remarkable passage:—

"The noble Countess of Southampton has been here four or "five weeks amongst us bowling at Sefton Green. The country "came flowing in and she kept a public table at the Hall of "Maile (Maghull). I could have soured her cheer by giving her "bills of mortality since the last scene she acted in this neigh-"bourhood. But I was so sour myself that I saw not so much "as a brace of rubbers on the green during the whole play. "Quantum mutatus!" *

From this it appears that even ladies participated in this

* *A Cavalier's Note Book*, p. 41.

pastime, and that it was not the first time that Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleveland and Countess of Southampton, one of the many mistresses of Charles II., had been seen amongst the bowlers of Sefton. We cannot account for her taking up her residence at such an uncourtly place as Maghull, excepting on the ground of the attraction of Sefton bowling. The cavalier's son tells us that a club had been formed there to meet once a week after dinner to pursue this amusement. It was under the auspices of Lord Molyneux and his son, Mr. Scaresbrick of Scaresbrick, Sir Edward Stanley, and doubtless of Mr. Blundell himself. He says there were at that time twelve or fourteen gentlemen belonging to it, and hints that it was intended as a counter attraction to the hard drinking which was then so prevalent.

When we come to the diary of Nicholas Blundell, son of the last-named squire of Crosby, we find that bowling greens were quite institutions in every township. Moreover, they were frequented by the best society; for the diarist seldom mentions a bowling match without naming two or three parsons as present. And this leads me to relate a little circumstance connected with these meetings, to which Mr. Blundell was occasionally accompanied by his chaplain Mr. Aldred. Some of this gentleman's congregation seem to have taken offence at his appearing at these public places, hobnobbing with parsons, and visiting ale-houses in their society. They complained of it to his Provincial, who wrote to Mr. Aldred forbidding the practice. Mr. Blundell, who was something of a nabob in his own dominions, remonstrated in rather strong terms, pointing out how ill it would be taken if the friendship of neighbours should be exposed to such a check. I am inclined to believe that he gained his point, and that the inhibition was withdrawn. Such certainly was the custom of that time, but in modern days the company at these places is not, I believe, of a clerical stamp.

It would be tedious to introduce all the entries which I find in the Diary relative to bowling. A few may suffice, chiefly to shew where the bowling greens stood. In 1710 he speaks of a match

on Grange green, between two Formby and two Ince men. He adds that a slave come from Turkey was on the green. The Grange is a well-known farm in Ince Blundell, near the shooting ranges, and belonging now to Lord Sefton. It was then the residence of one of the lesser gentry, Mr. Richard Molineux, the head of a branch of the Sefton family. A few days after, he writes:—"1710, August 15. Mr. Aldred, Dr. Cawood, and I "went to Ince green to see the match bowled between the same "two Formby and two Ince men. Ince green was so wet that "the spectators would not go upon it. There was there Mr. "Formby, Parson Latus, Robert Bootle, and his son, &c." Dr. Cawood was an oculist from Dublin, whom Mr. Blundell had brought over to consult him about his eyes, and he made some stay with him. Mr. Formby would be the squire of Formby; Parson Latus was, I suppose, Curate of Sefton; and Robert Bootle, whom Mr. Blundell frequently mentions, resided at Formby.

The diarist was again at Ince green on the 3rd October, which he tells was the finishing day there of the bowling season. In the following year he writes:—"1711, May 15. Mr. Aldred "went with me to Ince green where I bowled the match with "Mr. Robert Blundell which we made yester night, viz., one "game hand to fist, and after that single ends for an hour."

On the 23rd June in the same year he bowls on Great Crosby green with Mr. Aldred, Parson Latus, Mr. Gerard Wareing, &c. Passing over a few years, during which the diarist seems to have been more engaged in cock fights than bowling matches, we come to the year 1715. In June his brother-in-law Marmaduke, afterwards Lord Langdale, pays him a visit, and they are frequently together bowling. An entry relating to Liverpool may be interesting.

"1715, June 27. I went to Liverpool with my brother Lang-"dale. We went to Low Hill bowling green. There was "Alderman Tyrer, Mr. Danvers, young Mr. Wright, young Mr. "Cleveland, Dr. Fabius, &c. When my brother Langdale had "done bowling, I went with him to the 'Talbot,' where we and

"Mr. Heskaine, &c., took a glass of wine together." The "Talbot" must have been one of the chief inns at that period, as Mr. Blundell often patronised it, though he more frequently made the "Woolpack" his headquarters.

In 1722 the diarist notes that the 5th November was the closing day at Crosby green, and he is present to witness the final matches. On 4th June, 1724, he tells us that Parson Egerton should have bowled a match on Crosby green, "but he "came not."

Parson Egerton was at this period Rector of Sefton, as we learn from a previous entry:—"1722, March 7, I was in Sefton "Church where there should have been a trial between Parson "Egerton and Parson Hartley; but Parson Hartley soon gave it "up. Lawyer Blundell and Lawyer Starkey were there. There "were nine clergymen and nine laymen on the jury. They gave "the cause to Parson Egerton, so that he is now to be Rector of "Sefton." A commission had been issued to enquire into the right of presentation, which was decided in favour of the Earl of Cardigan, who had appointed the Rev. Thomas Egerton to the rectory.

A few days after he bowls on the green with a son of Attorney Tyrer, Yeomon of the Gore, &c. Mr. Tatlock of the Bank, his brother Thomas, and Tatlock the dyer were on the green. Bank Hall in Melling has all the appearance of a very ancient house. It was near Tatlock House, of which there are a few remnants existing, formerly the seat of a family of the lesser gentry. Thomas Tatlock, who lived at the Pear Tree Farm, was father of Rev. Henry Tatlock, S.J., who was at one time priest at Lydiate Hall, and died in 1771. Yeomon no doubt lived at the Gore Houses in Altcar. The diarist is again bowling there on 12th August, when he meets Sir Fras. Anderton, who was on a visit to Ince Blundell. There was also in company Col. Columbine, Apothecary Vernon, Parson Crosby, Parson Kelsey, and Mr. Cottom.

We have seen what was the closing day at Crosby green, and we have now the opening day mentioned. "1725, May 5. It being

"the opening of Great Crosby bowling green, I went thither. "There was Alderman Tyrer, Mr. Cottom, Mr. Whittle, &c."

These were all Liverpool men; and on another day he mentions the names of a party from Ormskirk, who seem to have monopolised Ince green. These were Mr. Chappell, Olton, Standle the apothecary, &c., all of Ormschurch. "1725 June 9. "I bowled 4 bowles out of hand against Mr. Crisp's three. "Mr. Hulme the attorney bowled a match with Parson Harrison, "Thos. Fleetwood, &c. I came directly home without going "into the alehouse."

The last words are unfortunate, as they lead us to infer that this was an exceptional occasion. Mr. Crisp, I think, resided at Sefton Hall, which had then been deserted by the Molyneux family. I find him acting as agent to Lord Molyneux; and he was on more intimate terms with Mr. Blundell's family than the position of a mere farmer would warrant. A few days later the diarist records a match at Crosby, when he bowled "hand to "fist" with Mr. Molineux of the Grange. On the 28th July, when he is bowling with Parson Kelsey and Parson Harrison, the Mayor of Liverpool, Mr. Carr, and Mr. Windsor came to the ground.

A final entry of 1727 will conclude this part of my subject; and from what has been said it may be gathered that a good deal of bowling was going on at this period, that the season for the sport had its fixed limits, and that the greens were patronised and frequented by the best company which the country afforded.

"1727, August 16. I went pretty late to Crosby green, but "did not bowl. I paid Mr. Egerton two guineas w^{ch} I had lost to "him. He gave a bowl of Punch out of it. There was at y^{e} "drinking of it Parson Wairing, Mr. Th. Whittle, Tho^{s} Syer, "Mr. Brownsword the Atturney, &c. We were very merry about "Tho^{s} Fleetwood's wigs."

Let us now take a glance at a sport upon which this more humane age has set its ban, a cruel amusement which the law

now forbids, but which, as may be inferred from newspaper revelations, is still occasionally practised in secret. I allude to—

3. Cock-fighting.

The following entries relate to this sport :—

"1704, Jan. 8. I went to Ormskirk Cocking, it being the "second day's fighting for a plate. Mr. Blundell of Ince won it."

"1709, June 29. Coz. Scarisbrick and I were at Wigan "Cocking. We dined at Tootal's with S^r^ Francis Anderton, "Mr. Hesketh the High Sheriff, Mr. Dodd, Mr. Cheetham, "Mr. Brathord, &c. I joined the Sheriff with a bottle of wine "at dinner. When the Cocking was over I drunk above stairs "with Sir Wm. Gerard, Mr. Townley, Mr. Langton, Mr. Hugh "Anderton, &c."

This affair at Wigan seems to have attracted a fashionable company. Of Sir Francis Anderton some account will be found in *Lydiate Hall and its Associations.* After the rebellion of 1715, in which he was engaged, he resided at Lydiate, where he ended his days in 1760. He was remarkably addicted to cock-fighting, and is said to have possessed the first duck-winged cock that was ever fought at a main. Harland, the antiquarian, perpetuates, in the first vol. of *Baines' Lancashire*, some old doggrel lines in which he is supposed to have couched his challenges :—

> There's the Jewel of England
> For a hundred in hand
> And a hundred in land
> I'll fight him against any cock in England.

The cocks of this famous breed were thence called "Anderton's "Jewels."

On 17th February, 1713, the diarist speaks of a cock-fight at the Four Lane Ends in Little Crosby, where a cock of his was engaged and four battles fought. Another meeting was arranged for Easter Monday, and he takes some pains to get ready four cocks for the combat. He weighs them, feeds them, and spurs them himself. One of his cocks, from his Ditton estate, he calls

by the name of "Clumsy." The affair on Easter Monday is thus described :—

"1713, April 6. We had a great cocking at Mrs. Ann Roth-"well's. They played battle victory. I had two cocks in the "battle, and one of them got two battles. There were nine "battles played this afternoon. Mrs. Blundell and Mr. Turville "made a visit here, but I came not to them from the cocking."

He would not leave the sport even to entertain his visitors. In respect to cock-fights, the terms "battle royal" and "battle victory," used by Mr. Blundell, will no doubt be familiar to those who know more about cock-fighting than I do. I take the latter to be a combat *a l'outrance*, *i.e.*, till one of the two yields up the ghost. The former I suppose to be carried to exhaustion, when one having succumbed, his adversary steps on his prostrate frame, and from this vantage ground peals forth the shrill note of victory.

"1714, May 18. I was at Charles Howerds where there was "a battle victory fought for a saddle by eight cocks. 'Twas won "by a Liverpool cock as belonged I think to Jack White. There "was at the cocking Jack White, Marsh, Dugdale, Hurleston, &c. "There were some by battles fought."

In 1715, on 6th June, he is at a cocking at Thos. Hesketh's, Great Crosby. He afterwards drank with Parson Latus, Parson Wareing, Mr. Taylor of Lidiat watchmaker, and others.

It would be tedious to recite other entries of a like character, so I shall content myself with giving the last which I meet with in the Diary :—"1727, April 12. I went to Crosby green. There "was Parson Brooks, Parson Davys, Bannion of Ormschurch, "Mr. Haymar, Dr. Bromfield &c. There were several cocks "brought from Liverpool and Ormschurch, which fought upon "the green. I saw 3 or 4 battles."

This cock-fight on Crosby green, in presence of so dignified a company, might form an appropriate subject for the pencil of some local artist.

I will conclude the present subject with the notice of a rather cruel amusement, practised by the boys of Crosby, though the

custom was by no means peculiar to Crosby, as we find it mentioned in Brand's *Popular Antiquities*:—

"1726, Feb. 22. The little boys of the town ran blindfold "after another who had a bell, for a cock. When that sport was "over, they ran with their hands behind their backs after the "cock and took him in their mouths. I think there were each "time seven."

Let us turn to a more pleasing custom recorded by the diarist, which owes its origin to religion, and which had no doubt descended from very remote times, viz. :—

4. The Flowering of Village Crosses.

There was a period when the whole of England was studded with crosses, which, as now in some countries abroad, greeted the wayfarer at frequent intervals, recalling the memory of Him who suffered and died on the Cross for his salvation. These memorials were too distinctive marks of Popery to be suffered to remain at the change of religion, and if any escaped, they were for the most part ruthlessly destroyed when Puritanism was in the ascendant. So complete was the destruction, that, excepting on catholic estates or in some remote country districts, very few traces of them are left. At the same time, it must be acknowledged that a very altered feeling has arisen regarding such objects, which are now preserved with as much solicitude as was formerly used for their destruction. In Lancashire, owing to the number of landowners who adhered to the ancient faith, crosses are perhaps more abundant than elsewhere. At Lydiate,—a manor which from the time of Wm. Gernet (to whom it was given by Paganus de Vilars soon after the Conquest, and who was the progenitor of the De Lydiates), has never passed out of Catholic hands,—no fewer than six crosses may be traced within a mile of the Hall. Of these, the remains of three are still visible, one of which was found in the year 1870, buried in a cop on the road to Downholland. This cross was restored by the writer, and is now the cemetery cross at Our Lady's Church, not far from which it

was discovered. Mr. Blundell, the diarist, mentions the setting up again of the village cross at Little Crosby, in his own time. In several passages, a few of which are here given, he speaks of the above ceremony :—

"1707, July 24. I went to Ince with the intention to go to "ye Flowering of Ince Cross with Mr. Blundell if he went, but "he not being at home I came back. Some of the servants "went."

"1708, June 23. I gathered some flowers for Flowering Great "Crosby Cross to-morrow."

"June 24. My wife and I were at the Flowering of Great "Crosby Cross."

"1715, June 24. My children went to the Flowering of Ince "Cross."

The first date is probably a mistake for June 24, as the diarist tells us somewhere that he copied these entries into his book from various scraps of writing made at the time, so that such a mistake might easily occur. The uniform day for these celebrations was the 24th June, being the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, a very appropriate time, seeing that it is midsummer when flowers are most abundant. Moreover, it was a term day in ancient grants, and much land was held under the fee of a red rose at the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist.

Mr. Blundell speaks occasionally of May-poles and the festivities connected with them, but as these are better known I will content myself with a single entry relating thereto :—

"1715, July 9. The little boys and girls of this town" (he always dignifies Little Crosby with this appellation) "diverted "themselves with rearing a May-pole in the West lane. They "had Morris dancing, and a great many came to it both old and "young, chiefly out of this end of the town."

Fewer details have been preserved of another festivity not uncommon at the time of the diarist, viz. :—

5. The Flowering of Marl-pits.

Of this custom we are fortunate in finding in his Diary a very precise account. The numberless unsightly pits still to be met in country districts show the extent to which the system of marling was carried out, and if other means of manuring land had not been discovered a very much larger portion of the fair face of England would have been disfigured in a similar way. When a squire undertook an operation of this kind it was generally on a large scale, and the tenants did not fail to attend with their teams to take part in the work. It will be seen from the following minute description of what took place on an occasion of this kind that the squire's hospitality was taxed to the utmost, and that he moreover took much pains to amuse as well as entertain his guests. It is pleasing to find that the neighbours were not unmindful of this extra call, and sent his lady fowls, butter, sugar, &c., as contributions towards the festival. The first entry exhibits the diarist in a new light, as the inventor of a sword dance, and the subsequent ones prove that he acted as master of ceremonies, drilling the raw material under his charge, and superintending the whole arrangements.

"1712, June 3. I made a sword dance against my marl-pit is "flowered."

"June 7. I was very busy most of the afternoon shaping "tinsel, &c., for the garland for my new marl-pit and after supper "y^e^ women helped to paste some things for it. I began to teach "the 8 sword Dancers their dance which they are to dance at the "Flowering of my marl-pit. D^r^ Cawood played to them."

"June 8. I was very busy in the afternoon making caps for "my marlers and dancers. Several of Great Crosby lasses helped "me. The young women of this town, Morehouses and Great "Crosby dressed y^e^ garlands in my barn for the Flowering of my "marl-pit. I taught the 8 sword dancers their dance; they had "music and danced it in my barn."

"June 9. I was extremely busy all day making some things "to adorn my marlers heads. My marl-pit which was made in

"the Great More-hey out of which I marled y^e^ Picke and y^e^ Little "More-hey was flowered very much to the satisfaction of y^e^ spec- "tators. There were present Ailes Tickle, M^r^ Molineux of y^e^ "Grange, M^r^ Burton, M^r^ Shepherd of Ince &c. They supped "here. All the 14 marlers had a particular dress on their heads "and carried each of them a musket or gun. The six garlands "&c. were carried by young women in procession; the 8 sword "dancers went along with them to the marlpit where they danced. "The music was Gerard Holsold and his son and Rich^d^ Tatlock; "at night they danced in the barn. Tho^s^ Lathord of Leverpoole "brought me to y^e^ marl-pit a dog collar against my bull bait as is "to be in the pit."

"June 15. I baited a large bull in y^e^ bottom of my new marl- "pit. He was never baited before, as I know of, but played to "admiration. There was I think 8 or 9 dogs played the first "bait and only 2 the third bait. I think there was not above "two dogs but what were very ill hurt. I gave a collar to be "played for but no dog could get it fairly, so I gave it to Rich^d^ "Spencer of Leverpoole, being his dog best deserved it."

"June 23. I had my finishing day for my marling and abun- "dance of my neighbours and tenants eat and drunk with me in "the afternoon; several of them had made presents to my wife of "sugar, chickens, butter &c. All my marlers, spreaders, water- "baylies and carters dined here. We fetched home the May-pole "from the pit and had sword dancing and a merry night in the "Hall and in y^e^ Barn. Rich^d^ Tatlock played to them."

The ordinary recreation of Mr. Blundell was coursing, in which his chief companion was his chaplain the Rev. Mr. Aldred. Mr. Plumbe, the Liverpool lawyer already spoken of, took great delight in coursing and fishing, and had frequent invitations to Crosby Hall to join in these amusements. After the first year following his marriage, the squire seldom hunted; but he speaks in later years of Lord Molyneux's fox hounds, and of a Liverpool pack. In 1703 the entries relating to hare hunting are numerous; and it is highly probable that the frequent meetings of Lord Molineux and his Catholic friends gave rise to sinister rumours.

We find Mrs. Norris of Speke writing in that year to her son Alderman Richard Norris as follows :—

"I believe mischief is at hand for our gentles meet more than "ordinary and very well mounted. If they have any ill designs "I pray God defeat them, for I fear we are not likely to do much "towards it."*

If old Mrs. Norris had listened to the conversation of these "gentles," she would have found that the only treason they contemplated was against the hare. It is amusing to put in juxtaposition a few of the entries relating to the gatherings which ruffled this good lady's nerves.

"1703, Nov. 6. I met my Lord Molineux at y^e^ Breck a "hunting."

"Nov. 8. I met Lord Molineux at y^e^ Breck a hunting. We "found no hare. We dined at y^e^ Sun at Low Hill; a large "shot."

"Nov. 15. I met Lord Molyneux, Mr. Trafford, and Mr. "Blundell a hunting at Low Hill."

"Nov. 18. I met Mr. Molineux a hunting at y^e^ Breck."

"Nov. 22. I met Lord Molineux a hunting at y^e^ Breck. We "run a hare to Litherland."

In later years Lord Molineux appears sometimes with his fox hounds in the neighbourhood of Crosby, and the following entry is curious :—

"1706, Nov. 5. 'Tis said that Liverpool hounds hunted a fox "this day from Bank Hall to Knowsley Park."

In bringing my subject to a close, a few notices of plays and itinerant actors may not be inappropriate. In a diary like Mr. Blundell's, in which something is recorded every day, it is unlikely that he would omit the notice of plays whenever a company visited the neighbourhood. Unfortunately he never mentions the names of performers, and with one exception, when he says

* "Norris Papers," p. 61.

that the play was ill done, never indulges in any criticism on the performance. It is curious, however, to find that on one occasion, when the "Soldier's Fortune" was acted at Little Crosby, the three chief characters were sustained by tenants of his own in that village. On 23rd June, 1712, he saw the "Yeoman of Kent" performed at the Castle of Liverpool. Other plays mentioned are—"Love's Contrivance," "The Queen of the Scots," and "The School of Compliments." Once he witnessed the performance at Liverpool of "Mackbeth," under the following circumstances; and with this entry I shall make my exit.

"1714, October 13. My wife, Mally (his daughter Mary), "and I dined at Wooton (Woolton Hall). There also dined "Mr. Jo. Gerard, my Lady Gerard and her daughter Mary, "Mr. Wm. Poole's wife, &c. We went thither thro Liverpool— "then went to y^e^ New Market where we saw a play acted called "Mackbeth."

LANCASHIRE IN THE TIME OF CHARLES II.

By Lieut.-Col. Henry Fishwick, F.S.A.

Read 18th November, 1880.)

ALTHOUGH Charles II. was not king *de facto* until 29th May, 1660, his regnal years were computed from the fatal 30th January which witnessed the martyrdom of his royal father. This was done on the authority of an opinion of the judges, who, perhaps, in coming to this decision had in their mind the old English saying, "The king is dead, long live the king." Availing myself of this judicial edict, the years which will be the boundaries of my subject will be 1649 and 1685.

In the great Civil War which was rapidly drawing to a close (in 1649), Lancashire had taken a prominent part. Blackburn, Liverpool, and Manchester taking up the side of the Parliament, whilst Lancaster, Preston, Wigan, and Warrington stood true to the King.

Those families—and they were some of the best blood of the county—who as recusants had been deprived of arms, had petitioned the king to be allowed to arm in their own and the royal defence, and had, on their request being granted, joined the ranks of the Cavaliers; on the other hand the Puritans of Bolton (the Geneva of Lancashire) and elsewhere espoused the cause of the Roundheads. The sieges of Manchester, Lancaster, Warrington, and Preston, the attack on Bolton, the taking of Houghton Tower, the destruction of Lathom, and other more or less sanguinary engagements were now matter of history. But the troubles of Lancashire were not yet over. Lord Derby had retired to the Isle of Man; but in August, 1651, bringing with him 700 Manx soldiers, he came to Lancashire, landing on Pressall Sands on the River Wyre, and marching at once to Weeton in

Kirkham. Next day he went to Lathom, and through Upholland to Preston, and this (says Raines in his *Memoir of the Seventh Earl of Derby*) "was the last time he saw his desolate house. "He parted with the old familiar scenes he loved so well when "they were in their greatest beauty, on the evening of a summer's "day. The bright tints of the dark elms, for which Lathom "had been famed, contrasted well with the light green of the "meadows; and there was the ripened grain, lacking hands to "gather in the harvest."

In the meantime the young king, having been acknowledged in Scotland, arrived in Lancashire with an army of 16,000 men. On 12th August he was at Ellel Moor, and lodged at Ashton Hall. At Lancaster he was proclaimed at the cross, and the prisoners at the castle were set free. On the 13th he stayed at Mierscough Hall, near Garstang, being the guest of Sir Thomas Tyldesley; marching from thence to Preston, where he rode through the principal streets, and passed on to Hugh Anderton's house at Euxton; the next day he stayed at Bryn Hall, the seat of Sir William Gerard. On the 16th he was met at Warrington Bridge by a portion of the parliamentary forces under Lambert, and a sharp fight ensued, the victory falling to the royalists, who continued their march toward Worcester. On the 17th August, the Earl of Derby met the king at Northwich, in Cheshire, and receiving instructions to raise troops in Lancashire, immediately proceeded to carry out his orders. Volunteers came in fast, as none were refused, and in a very few days 2000 men were equipped ready for the field, and sent to join the main body, whilst the Earl remained at Preston with about 600 soldiers. Here he was very near being surprised by Colonel Tilburne, who had a troop of horse and some foot at Brindle, between whom and some of his men a sharp skirmish took place—a Butler of Rawcliffe, a Hesketh of Mains, and others being killed. Shortly after this, Derby, in the dead of the night secretly marched his men towards Wigan, that town being loyal to His Majesty. At Wigan Lane they were met by Colonel Tilburne, who had lined the hedges with his foot, who suddenly

opened fire upon the advancing party. Surprised, but not dismayed, the gallant Earl halted his column, formed it into two parties, giving the command of the rear to Major-General Sir Thomas Tyldesley, and himself leading the van. The battle that followed was determined and sanguinary, and resulted in a hard-earned victory to the parliamentary forces. Twice the royalists fought their way through the ranks of the enemy, but attempting it the third time they were defeated with great loss, Sir Thomas Tyldesley and Lord Witherington being amongst the slain. *Seacome* gives the strength of the Earl's force as 600 men all told, but Tilburne claimed to have routed 1500, and taken prisoners 400. The opposing force has been stated as 3000. The Earl himself had two horses killed under him; and from the saddle of the third he leapt to rush into an open door of a house, which was shut before his pursuers could come up, and from whence he was conveyed to a place of hiding, where he lay for many hours. He had received seven shots on his breastplate and thirteen cuts upon his beaver. After having his wounds dressed he set out the same night towards Worcester. Of so great importance was the battle considered in London, that Parliament ordered "that on the next Lord's day thanks be "given to Almighty God by the ministers and all churches and "congregations . . . for the great mercies of God to this "nation in the great and seasonable defeate of the Earl of "Derbyes forces in the countie of Lancaster."

After the battle of Worcester, the Earl of Derby, having first seen the king in safety, set off for the North, was met by Colonel Edge, who took him and his companions prisoners. Of his trial and martyrdom in the streets of Bolton, it will not be necessary to further allude to, as the details are no doubt more or less familiar to all. The execution took place on 15th October, 1651.

The Civil War, so far as Lancashire was concerned, was now practically at an end. The year following saw Manchester dismantled, its walls thrown down, and its gates carried away.*

But the passing of these troops through the county, the various

* Hollingworth, 124.

sieges, battles, and skirmishes, must have left a heavy mark behind. Those who had sided with the victorious party might get some recompense—though small and long-a-coming doubtless it would be; but the friends of the conquered were in a dire plight. For example, Richard Mather of Houghton sent up a certificate to London, to the effect that the forces of Colonel Tilburne had been quartered upon him, "to his very great "damage, wherby he had been very much impoverished." An order was made for his relief.*

After the death of Cromwell, a league was formed, having for its object the restoration of Charles II., in which Lancashire took some part. The son of Sir Marmaduke Langdale, being put in command of the county, was supported by the Earl of Derby, Sir Thomas Middleton, and others. The forces raised were, however, defeated at Northwich, on 19th August, 1659, after which the fugitives were dispersed—one part in Manchester, and the rest in Liverpool, after a fight in the streets of that town.

The religious aspect of Lancashire in the time of Charles II. is much too extensive a subject to be fully described here; our time will only admit of the briefest outline.

The nine classes into which the county was divided by ordinance of Parliament in 1646 continued to act until the Restoration. The Church Surveys of Lancashire, 1649-50 (recently published by the Record Society), furnish us with many interesting facts. These surveys were made in consequence of an Act passed 8th June, 1649, entitled "An Act for the providing "maintenance of preaching ministers and other pious uses."

This survey was made by a commission, which sat sixteen times, holding three inquisitions at Manchester, six at Wigan, three at Lancaster, three at Preston, and one at Blackburn. From their report we find that Lancashire had then 64 parish churches and 118 chapels, of which 38 were without minister, for want of maintenance. Taking Burnley as a sample of this survey, it was reported that it was a parochial chapel, in Whalley

* Col. State Paper Dom. xxiii., 112.

Parish, and in its three townships then 300 families, their minister being Mr. Henry Morris, an able and orthodox divine, who had for his salary £11 : 10 : 0 per annum from the farm of the rectory, and out of the Duchy lands £4 : 8 : 2 per annum, and by order of the Committee of the County £24 : 1 : 11 ; being a total of £40, upon which it is hoped he felt himself "passing rich." The inhabitants of Burnley desired to be made a parish. Holmes Chapel had no maintenance, and consequently no minister. Padiham contained 1106 persons, their minister John Brears, M.A., having £39 : 19 : 2 a-year. The composite character of the men who held the various livings is apparent from the description here given. Many of them are said to be "painful preachers," "able and orthodox," "good preaching minister, and conform- "able to the present government," "of good conversation," "of civil carriage," and the like ; whilst others are "scandalous "in life, and negligent in their callings," "at present suspended," or, although good and able men, they had neglected to observe Thursday, the 13th June, 1650, as a day of humiliation ; in other words, they refused to pray for the Commonwealth. Amongst these latter was Charles Herle, of Winwick.

The manner in which some of the ministers had been appointed is worthy of notice. Some were men who, being imbued with the spirit of the Vicar of Bray, had turned with the tide, gone with the stream, changed with the Government ; in short, had held to their cures with a tenacity which was a credit to their perseverance, if it said little for their faith. Some (and amongst these were some of the leaders of the puritan party) who had begun life as episcopalians, but became honest converts to the presbyterian polity, had, of course, held their own, or obtained promotion. Others relinquished their livings, or were sequestrated. Some of the vacancies thus created (and from other causes) were filled up under the authority of the Westminster Assembly of Divines ; but this was by no means the only channel. The minister at Windle "came in by the ffree choyce and "ellection of the inhabitants." At Standish the same course was

taken. At Liverpool the Mayor and Common Council elected. At Euxton an order from the Committee of Plundered Ministers appointed. At Garstang the vicar was said to have been (during the time of Charles I.) put in by some soldiers, and remained there ever since.*

Upon the restoration of the Stuarts, presbyterian government became unpopular here, as in the rest of England, and in 1662 the passing of the Act of Uniformity once more put the clergy to the test; sixty-seven Lancashire ministers refused to conform, and were therefore ejected. The Conventicle Act and the Five Mile Act, together with the presence of large numbers of Roman Catholics in the county, pressed very hard upon Dissenters, and the amount of persecution and suffering which followed was extreme. Perhaps no religious body at this time received greater abuse than the "Quakers." Lancaster Castle was full of them, fifty at a time being within its walls. Justices of the peace appear to have had their hands full—one of them, Edward Rigby of Preston, declaring that he will "root the quakers out of the "Hundred, and that the laws against them were too short, and "he would be of the first that should move a law to have them "tied to and dragged at either a horse's or a cart's tail."† George Fox and James Naylor were accused by "several justices "of peace, ministers of the Gospel, and people of Lancashire" of having "broached opinions tending to the destruction of the "relation of subjects to their magistrates, wives to their husbands, "children to their parents, servants to their masters, congregations "to their ministers, and of a people to their God."‡ The head and front of their offending was that they refused to take the oath of allegiance, would not go to church nor pay tithes, nor in any way contribute to the maintenance of what they called "steeple "houses." The following extract from a warrant, signed by Nicholas Formby and Thomas Braddyl, justices of the peace, may serve as a specimen. It bears date 15th November, 1681. "Whereas it appeareth unto us that upon the 16th October last,

* *History of Garstang*, p. 153.
† Besse's *Collection of the Sufferings of Quakers*, p. 321. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 301.

"being Sunday, there was a numerous meeting or conventicle "under colour or pretence of religious worship in other manner "than according to the Liturgy, at the house of George Hargreaves "in Pendle, Clothier and by and with his consent at which said "meeting or conventicle were many more than five persons, when "and where George Hargreaves did wittingly and wilfully suffer "Isaac Ashton of Clitheroe to pray, preach and teach but did not "read the Book of Common Prayer. These are therefore to "command you to demand of the said George Hargreaves the "sum of £20 which if he refuse to pay you are forthwith to levy "the same upon his goods and chattels."

The pamphlet literature of this period contains several highly interesting examples of the doings and sufferings of the founders of the Society of Friends in Lancashire. General Worsley (a Lancashire man) who, under Cromwell, was appointed to act as vicegerent in the administration of public affairs, in December, 1655, asked permission to occupy Liverpool Castle with a company of soldiers, as he found that Lancashire contained a good many papist delinquents who were beginning to fill the prisons; and he adds—"We are much trobled with them that are called quakers: "they troble the markets, and get into private houses up and "downe in every towne." Another difficulty he had to contend with was the alehouses. On the one hand he did not wish to "weaken the revenew," and yet, he says, "it is too visible that "they are the very bane of the countys." In the Hundred of Blackburn he ordered "200 alehouses to be thrown down."* General Worsley died in 1656, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. A tale is told to the effect that Roger Kenion, M.P. for Clitheroe, who was a zealous royalist, wrote on his tombstone the words—"where never worse lay."

In 1650, "Drunken Barnaby" made his "four journeys to the "North of England." Of Lancashire he simply notes—

> First place where I first was known a,
> Was brave John a' Gant's old town a [rch]

* State Papers, iv., p. 450.

A seat anciently renowned
But with a store of beggars crowned
For a gaoler ripe and mellow
The world has not such a fellow.
Then to Ashton [*near Lancaster*] good as may be
Was the wine, brave knight, bright lady;
All I saw was comely specious,
Seemly gracious, neatly precious.
My Muse with Bacchus so long traded
When I walk'd my legs deny'd it.
Whence to Garstang, pray you hearken it
Ent'ring there a great beast market,
As I jogged on the street
Twas my fortune for to meet
A young heifer, who before her
Took me up and threw me o'er her.
Thence to Preston I was led a,
To brave Banister! to bed a.
* * *
Seven days were there assigned
Oft I supped but never dined.
* * *
Thence to Warrington, banks o'erflowed,
Travellers to the town were rowed!
Where supposing it much better
To be drowned on land than water
Sweetly neatly I sojourned
Till the flood thence returned.

A writer in 1682, says that the temperature of the air of Lancashire "is thin and piercing, and not troubled with gross mists "or fogs. The people are comely, strong, healthful, long lived, "and not subject to novel diseases." Evidently neuralgia, dyspepsy, diphtheria, and other novel ailments, were unknown to our ancestors, and consequently they needed no careful town councils to inflict them with medical officers and trapped drains. The Lancashire folks were also "of honest carriage and good "housekeepers." The soil is described as "not very fruitful, yet "breeds a great number of cattle, having goodly heads and large "spread horns. The chief commodities being cole, cattel, fowl, "fish, and flax."*

The county at this time had twelve borough members and two

* England's Remarques, 1682.

knights of the shire. The boroughs returning members were Lancaster, Preston, Newton, Wigan, Clitheroe, and Liverpool. [And in 1651 Manchester returned one member.] There were then twenty-six market towns.

Liverpool, in the 16th century, had been correctly described as a "decayed town," and it was not until towards the close of the reign of Charles II. that it commenced that rapid improvement in trade and commerce which was destined to make it the first town in England. Blome, writing in 1673, gives to Liverpool a bold and safe harbour, in which ships at low water could "ride at 4 fathoms, and at high water "10 fathoms." He adds that lamprey and smelts were so plentiful that they were sold at twenty for a penny. The town itself was so much enlarged that its church, or chapel as it was then called, was not large enough; and amongst the inhabitants were many eminent merchants and tradesmen, whose commerce with the West Indies even then made it famous. The Town Hall, then recently erected, was described as "placed on pillars "and arches of hewn stone," having underneath an exchange for merchants.

We have, however, a plan of Liverpool in 1650,* which enables us to form a good idea of the dimensions of the town in that year. At the bottom of Water Street were the Tower and the Custom House, which stood alone, only the upper end of the street being built on. Dale Street had buildings on each side for a considerable distance. At the point where Dale Street, Castle Street, and Water Street met was the "High Cross." Chapel Street and Tithebarn Street were also lined with houses. The only other streets properly formed were Oldhall Street, Jaggler's Street (which ran between Castle Street and Tithebarn Street), and Castle Street; at the south end of the latter stood the castle.

In 1654 the streets of Liverpool were first lighted, the order on the town books being—"that two lanthorns, with two candles "burning every night in the dark moon, be set out at the High

* "The Moore Rental," Chetham Society, xii.

"Cross and at the White Cross, and places prepared to set them "in, every night till eight of the clock."*

The following opinion of the character of the Liverpool people of that day is amusing, if not flattering. It is given by Edward (afterwards Sir Edward) Moore, of Bank Hall, in 1667 :—

"I know (he writes) by experience, that they are the most "perfidious knaves to their landlords in all England; therefore "I charge you, in the name of God, never to trust them, * * "for their is no such thing as truth or honesty in such mercenary "fellows, but what tends to their own ends, * * * for such "a nest of rogues were never educated in one town of that "bigness."†

In fairness to the gentlemen of Liverpool, I must add, that Moore was at the time very unpopular there, and much of the feeling expressed above was mutual. Of the Mayor of Liverpcol (1665) he says, "he is one of the lurkinest knaves in all the town, "he is worse than any pen can express;" and he adds, rather significantly, "he is one of the leading men underhand against "me, in all votes either for Parliament or Mayor."

This Edward Moore owned a very large portion of the land upon which Liverpool now stands, and appears to have been one of that kind of landlords which the quaker George Fox had in his eye, when, on being asked at the Lancaster assizes if he did not honour his landlord, he replied, "yes, I honour him when I "pay him his rent."‡ Whilst he looked to the "main chance," he wished withal to preserve an odour of sanctity. Of this his Rental, compiled for the information of his son,§ affords many examples, as well as furnishing many details concerning old Liverpool not to be found elsewhere. A few examples only will our space allow. The Rental is arranged in streets, under each tenant's name.

"Chapel Street.

"Mrs. Owen, an old house. . . . Reserve 20/s rent with three "hens." (Boon or rent hens were then a common payment.)

* Picton's *Memorials of Liverpool.* † Chetham Society, xii.
‡ Besse's *Collection of the Sufferings of Quakers*, p. 303. § Chetham Society, xii.

"Remember Thomas Assbrocke hath an old thatched house, "and that there is another . . wherein Crompton now lives. If "you could buy these you might make a street out of Water "Street into Chapel Street . . . and one half of one side must "be all your own"—and he piously adds, "God bless it. Amen."

"Castle Street.

"Henry Corless is a knave of knaves; one that in all elections "both for parliament man and mayor was against me." The site of his house in Castle Street "is the only place in all Liverpool "to build a good house on, it standing just in the heart of the "market. He pays three hens at Christmas, three days shearing "and old rent £1 : 6 : 8."

"Baly Johnson, 'one of the hardest men in town.' Has a "house in Castle Street, to which there belongs a great close of "land lying in the Dale Street, which runs down to the pool. If "ever the pool shall be cut so as shipping shall come up on the "back of the town, then this will be a most especial place to "make a street."

"Widow Bridge, 'a poor old woman.' Her sister being "arraigned for a witch confessed she was one. When she dies "put her daughter out, for she is one of the most wicked, "drunken, swearing and cursing women of England. This (a "house in Castle Street) is a brave place to build a gallant house. "You may have £1 a year rent, 3 rent hens, and three days "shearing."

"Dale Street.

"Nicholas Banks, a very knave; a great hunter of coneys in "my warren. Remember if the pool should be made navigable "if this may not be built."

"William Gardiner, a very honest man; but his wife is an odd "kind of woman; will never pay rent or hens, but hath several "times cozened me. Therefore make her pay the rent at the day, "otherwise she will swear she hath paid you."

"Sugar House Close.—I call it so because one Mr. Smith, a "great sugar baker at London, as report says worth £40,000,

"came from London on purpose to treat with me. He is to "build all the front, 27 yards, a stately good house of hewn stone "4 storeys high, and at the back a house for boiling sugar. If "this is done it will bring a trade of at least £40,000 a year "from Barbadoes."

Moore had a horse mill and a wind mill, and is careful to impress upon his son that no more mills can be built in Liverpool, as his mills are the king's mills, to whom he pays rent.

In 1671-2, an order was sent to the Justices of Peace for a list of names and ages of all the seamen in the kingdom. In the return sent in, Liverpool appeared as furnishing 49. The whole Hundred of West Derby had 65 ships, of six tons burthen and upwards.*

MANCHESTER, in 1650, was a large and populous town, and was celebrated for its linen and woollen cloths and also for its fustians. It had about a dozen streets, the three principal ones—being Long Millgate, Market Stead Lane (now Market Street), and Deansgate—extended like three arms (with the church as a centre) far into the green fields.† Kuerden describes the town as "fayre and spacious, adorned with many streets and a spacious "market place, and more citty like than any other town or borow "in the county." The close of the century witnessed a great and rapid improvement in the trade of Manchester and of Lancashire generally, and it was then that the old houses of wood and plaster began to be replaced by houses of brick and stone. At this time, the goods made in Manchester could only be conveyed on pack horses, a gang of which were used by chapmen, who sold the manufactured articles to the shopmen. In 1662, the exports of the whole country amounted to something over £2,000,000, which, in 1669, rose to nearly £7,000,000.‡ Dr. Aiken§ states (but gives no authority) that eminent merchants, at the end of the 17th century, used to be in their warehouses before six in the morning, accompanied by their

* Gregson's *Portfolio*, p. 159. † Map, 1650.
‡ Davenant's *Report to the Commissioners of Accounts.*
§ *Forty Miles Round Manchester.*

apprentices and children. At seven, they all met at breakfast, which consisted of one large dish of water pottage. At the side was a bason of milk, and the master and apprentices, each with a wooden spoon in his hand, dipped into the same dish, and thence into the milk pan; and as soon as it was finished they returned to their work. Thomas Cogan, who was for some years High Master of the Manchester Grammar School, in his *Haven of Health*, (published in 1612) writes, that "oates first dried and "after lightly shaled being boiled in water with salt, make a kind "of meate which they call water-potage, and in ale, ale-potage, "meates very wholesome and temperate and light of digestion; "and if any man be desirous to have a taste of them, let him use "the advice of some Lankashire woman." 1407105

One of the Manchester merchants of this age was Humphrey Chetham, who, by his will, founded the Chetham Hospital, and established the first free library in England.

In 1654, Oliver Cromwell rewarded Manchester for its fidelity to the Commonwealth by empowering its burgesses (those of them who had an estate worth £200 a year) to return a member of Parliament. Major-General Charles Worsley, of Platt, was elected. This parliament being dissolved in 1655, Richard Ratcliffe, of Manchester, succeeded to the representation. At the Restoration, Manchester was disfranchised, and did not again possess the elective power until the passing of the Reform Bill.

The manner in which the coronation of Charles II. was observed in Manchester was recorded by William Heawood, who graphically describes how the trainbands, under John Byrom, and the auxiliary band of Nicholas Mosley, together consisting of 360 men, assembled in the Field, on 22nd April, 1661, "in "great gallantrie and rich scarffes, expressing themselves with "manie great acclamations of joy;" from thence they marched to the parish church, preceded by 40 boys of about the age of seven, "all cloathed in white stuffe, plumes of feathers in their "hatts, blew scarffes, armed with little swords hanging in black "belts, and short pikes shouldered."

The church was filled with a large "concourse of people, who

"civilly and soberly demeaned themselves all the whole day, the "like never seen in this nor the like place."

Richard Heyrick, warden of the College, preached the sermon (which was afterwards printed), after which a civic procession was formed of the borough reeves, constables, &c., which paraded the streets, "with the town music playing before them upon loud "instruments," until they came to the conduit (which then stood near the entrance to St. Ann's Square), here there was a long halt, as the "gentlemen and officers drunk his Majesties health "in claret, running forth at three streams of the conduit." This stream of claret was afterwards "freely drunk by all that could, "and it continued to run until after sunset." Bonfires were lighted in all the streets, and "some fireworks running upon "cords the length of one hundred yards and so backwards, with "crackers in the ayre," but rain coming on "the spectators "were much disappointed." The burgesses of "time-honoured "Lancaster," took a more practical method of showing their loyalty, and one which, if less demonstrative, was probably more acceptable; they presented to the king "their small mite, as a "token of their joy at his restoration, by surrender of their fee "farm rents of £13 : 6 : 8, which they purchased of the late "powers."

Lancaster was a quiet, sleepy town, its inhabitants being neither numerous nor wealthy.

Preston was minutely described by Kuerden about the year 1682, and from this we find that it was "adorned with a large "square or market place;" its streets were "so spacious from "one end thereof unto the other, that few of the corporations of "England" exceeded it. In the centre of the town was "an "ample, antient, and yet well-beautifyed gylde hall," under which were "ranged two rows of butcher's shops." On Saturdays, "as "soon as light appeared," was held a market for linen cloth, yarn, fish, butter, and cheese; there were separate markets for pigs, sheep, cattle, corn, and other grain. The streets were "here and there interwoven with stately fabrics of brickbuilding, "after the modish manner extraordinarily addorning the streets."

The building formerly occupied by the Grey Friars was then used for the shelter and "reforming of vagabonds, sturdy beggars, and "other people wanting good behaviour." Preston had its work-house, public alms-houses, and school.

In the reign of Charles the Second two guilds were celebrated, which Kuerden describes at considerable length, the processions, the feasting, and the ceremony at the grand ball, where as many as 200 ladies assembled and danced "corantes, galliards, sara-"bands, with their castinetts, French and country dances, with "great delight to the spectators, and glorious reputation to the "deserved actors coming hither from all parts of the county."

The population of Preston was now about 6,000, at which figure it remained for something like a century; not a single building, it is said, being erected on a new site during the whole of that time. In 1684, Preston had the honour (if it was one) of entertaining the notorious Judge Jeffreys.

In 1661, the Corporation set up a claim to nominate and elect the members of parliament for the borough, but on the question being referred to the Committee of Privileges, the power of election was declared to be vested in the inhabitants, and Dr. Fife, of Wedacre Hall, in Garstang, the nominee of the Corporation, was unseated.

What may be called the birth of the staple trade of Lancashire, was not long in producing its effect on the smaller towns. Rochdale had several fulling mills, or as they were then called walk mills, (hence the name Walker,) and it has a considerable market for cloth and stockings. Bolton had become famous for its fustians. Wigan was known as a coal and cannel producer, whilst some of its inhabitants were weavers of rugs, coverlets and ticking, and others were braziers, pewterers, and dyers. Warrington, described by Blome as "a fine and large town," had a market resorted to by Welshmen, and famous for its lampreys. Colne, Burnley, Garstang, and a few others, held weekly markets, but chiefly for cattle and provisions. Blackburn (the same writer says) had a weekly meeting, by "some called "a market;" and Bury he calls a town of "no great account."

The means of communication in Lancashire still continued in a very unsatisfactory state, many places being only accessible on foot or on horseback. Henry Newcome enters in his *Diary*, as if it were an almost every day occurrence, that, 22nd July, 1658, the Vicar of Preston's wife's mother was in the coach (going from Preston to Newcastle) when it was overturned in a very dirty place; she was so hurt that she died in two days. The carriage of letters was likewise in a very incomplete and unsatisfactory state, and it might with truth be said in those days that "one half the world did not know what the other did." In 1653 a proposal was made to the Government by three merchants (two Londoners and one Cornishman) to undertake the management of the inland and foreign letter office, and in addition to the existing stages, they proposed to establish one between Lancaster and Carlisle. The postage of a single letter, over 80 miles from London, to be 3d.* Probably the negotiation fell through; as there were circumlocution offices in those days, no doubt.

During the early part of the reign of Charles II. the small coinage of the country became very scarce, and tokens, as they were called, were struck off, not only by corporations, but by private tradesmen. The cabinets of collectors contain a large number of tokens so coined and issued; scarcely a town or village which did not contribute one or more specimens. In 1672 the issuing of tokens was suppressed by Act of Parliament. This want of small change had, however, another effect—it induced men to become false coiners; and I regret to add that, in 1652, Lancashire was infested with the followers of this art. Sir Robert Stone, in a letter preserved amongst the State Papers,† contributes the following particulars:—"The late king," he writes, "went squirting" (whatever that may mean) "up and "down with his mints, at Bristol, Shrewsbury, York, and many "other places; and when these garrisons were surrendered, the "irons were carelessly neglected and came into the hands of "knaves who fell first to coining of a great quantity of money

* Coll. State Papers, Dom., xxxvii., 449. † *Ibid.*, xxiv., 261.

"in Lancashire and the materials they wrought on was only the "clippings of English silver and pewter dishes, and some of them "were executed, but to this day the State does not know the "hundreth man in that county (Lancashire) that are clippers and "counterfeiters."

Towards the close of the century the schools in Lancashire were considerably increased, and Lancashire found considerable work for the London printers. With the exception of one book, which was (on the authority of Ford, a famous Manchester bookseller), printed at Smithy Door, Manchester, in 1664,* no evidence of the existence of a 17th century Lancashire press has been discovered. The number of authors who hailed from this county was considerable. Amongst the divines were Isaac Ambrose, vicar of Preston and Garstang; John Angier, pastor of Denton; Nehemiah Barnet, minister at Lancaster; William Bell, minister at Huyton; Seth Bushell, vicar of Preston; Charles Earl of Derby; Edward Gee, minister at Eccleston; John Harrison, minister of Ashton-under-Lyne; William Leigh, vicar of Standish; Charles Herle, vicar of Winwick; Richard Hollingworth, a Fellow of Manchester College; Henry Newcome, rector of Gawsworth; Henry Pigott, rector of Brindle and vicar of Rochdale; Richard Sherlock, vicar of Winwick; and Richard Wroe, warder of Manchester. To these may be added a number of writers for and against quakers.

In 1664-5 Sir William Dugdale made his visitation of the county, which was the last ever made. From it we find that many of the old families of the time of Elizabeth have entirely died out, and others have sprung up in their places. I should hesitate to say that the "Norroy King of Arms" was less careful than his predecessors, or that the aspirants to the honour of pedigrees were less willing or able to furnish the necessary information; but certain it is that many of the genealogies are at once erroneous and incomplete. In more than one case I have found the recorder of the pedigree neglecting to give such a simple detail

* *A Guide to Heaven from the Word*, (The Lancashire Library, p. 157.)

as the maiden name of his mother or grandmother; whilst for dates the word "circa" appears to have been found so much more convenient than the day and year, that it was frequently adopted. We can easily understand how an indignant father, who intended to cut off his rebellious son with a shilling, might refuse to insert his name in the family tree; but we might fairly expect that a whole generation should not be omitted, or that the ladies should have been treated exactly in the spirit which inspired the youth who, on being asked how many children there were, replied—"Well, if you count the girls, there are seven; but if you only reckon the men—why, there's me."

The days of the "merry monarch" were not characterised by quite so rank a superstition as the witch-burning age which preceded it. The witches of Pendle, the demoniacs of Surey had passed away; but credulity and ignorance still went hand in hand. Another form of superstition was extant, which traced every passing event to a special or miraculous interposition of Providence. Many examples of this might be given—one or two will suffice. Nicholas Bray, the vicar of St. Michael's-on-the-Wyre, on receiving the order to pull down the Royal Arms in his church, was so keen in his disloyalty (he had formerly been an episcopalian), that he must do the work himself, and carry the timber into his house to make a door of it. Well, the result was—"It pleased the Lord to strike him with a sudden and violent "sickness, whereof he presently died, and [this is the pith of the tale] "these very boards were made into his coffin."*

Humphrey Briscoe, the Vicar of Chipping, gravely tells his friend Henry Newcome, that a certain stout party went out a hunting, and said to another, equally corpulent, "If thou and I "should die to-night, the devil would have a notable breakfast."† The man died that night—how the devil fared is not recorded.

The autobiography of William Stout, of Lancaster, affords many striking examples of life in Lancashire at this period; but time will only permit of one extract, throwing light upon an old

* Vicar's *Dagon Demolished;* also *History of Garstang*, p. 204.
† Newcome, Autobiography, p. 88.

north-country funeral custom. "I went (he writes) to Preston "fair to buy cheese; the market for cheese being mostly at Gar- "stang and Preston fairs. At this time we sold much cheese to "funerals in the country, from 30lbs. to 100lbs. weight, as the "deceased was of ability; which was shrived into two or three "(slices or pieces) in the lb., and one with a penny manchet "given to all attendants. And then it was customary at Lancaster "to give one or two long, called Naples, biscuits, to each atten- "dant, by which from 20 to 100lbs. was given. I think they "were near 1/s a lb."

Funeral reform was wanted even then, as the following items of expense will show. They were incurred at the funeral of Sarah Worsley, daughter of Charles Worsley, of Platt, near Manchester, in 1661 :—

	£	s.	d.
For sugar and other spices and bread .	0	18	2
,, making grave 1/, for coffin 5/ . .	0	6	0
,, two scarfs	1	1	6
,, drink	1	3	0
,, spices	3	5	0
,, two cloaks	6	16	0
,, wine	1	2	0
,, 46 pair of gloves	3	7	0
Given to the poor on the day of burial .	3	10	0

At the end of the reign of Charles II. Lancashire had begun to settle down, after its many and violent disturbances; but its turbulent spirit was not quite allayed, and some few outbreaks were yet to come, before it was ready for the advent of the next century, which Carlyle describes as "a remarkably peaceful indi- "vidual, who took down his turrets, and made his guardroom into "the dairy, and the dungeon into wine and beer cellars. He also "introduced straight walks into his gardens, turned the moat into "a fish pond, and cut all his trees into shapes of men, peacocks "and elephants, and other objects of natural history. He dis- "charged his warder, and paid for protection by a subscription to "the county police. He was a snug, careful, pushing fellow, and

"laid out more money on his warehouse than on his private "dwelling, for he began to smell from afar the spices of India, "and the cotton fields of America, and the commerce of the "world, and the empire of the seas."

The good old County Palatine had fought hard for Parliament and King; it had upset and set up again its old established Church; it had tolerated, and it had persecuted;—but a better day was coming, nay, had almost come, when the sturdy spirit, the honest thrift, and the daring enterprise of its inhabitants, were to give an impetus to the trade and commerce of England, which was to make her the richest nation of the earth.

SUNDAY IN LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

By William E. A. Axon, M.R.S.L.

(Read 13th January, 1881.)

THE Sundays in the olden time differed very considerably from those of the present day. In an old English homily of the twelfth century we find the preacher asserting that the Jews kept their Sabbath better than Christians observed their Sunday; yet the privileges of the day were not unfrequently insisted upon. In another of these homilies we find a curious legend that St. Paul and Michael the Archangel were once sent by the Lord to see how the souls fared in hell. Michael acted as cicerone, and showed the horrified apostle all the terrors of gehenna; souls tormented by every ingenious form of torment and torture. There were agonised souls hanging on trees, a fiery oven with seven flames, a well of fire with streams of fire, guarded by twelve demons like unto kings; the sea of hell, with seven waves, and full of strange monsters, who incessantly tormented the damned. In some cloisters they saw four devils leading about an old man who had been a tyrannical bishop, whilst three devils had charge of a maiden who had been chaste but not charitable whilst on earth. These sights made angel and archangel weep; and when the Lord demanded the cause of their sorrow, Paul petitioned that the wicked should have rest in hell on the Sunday until the day of doom. God at first refuses to shew this mercy, but on a repetition of the prayer consents to grant them this respite. This legend curiously illustrates alike the nobility and the degradation of some of the theological ideas of the middle ages. It was thought that the day of judgment would be upon a Sunday. The old preacher sets forth as the three virtues of

Sunday, that it gives rest on earth to the thralls, both men and women, from their slavery, that in heaven it gives a greater rest to the angelic host, and that in hell the wicked have a surcease from their torments.*

Before the period of the Puritans, the Sunday was not ranked higher in any marked degree than the other festivals observed by the church. A letter of Pope Gregory advises the English clergy to substitute for the heathen feasts some religious festivals. On the days in which the dedication of the churches or the sufferings of the martyrs were memorialised, the people were allowed to make booths of the boughs of trees by the church, and to celebrate the solemnity with religious feasting, and no more offer beasts to the devil.† Thus originated the wakes and fairs. These in some instances became great centres of trading activity, and in others remained merely exhibitions of rustic festivity.

Another occasion for merry-making was the ceremony of the "rush-bearing." The floors were strewn with rushes for the comfort of the worshippers in an age when cushions and hot water pipes were alike unknown in the sacred edifices. This provision against winter cold was made into a festival. The young folk gathered the long rushes, which were piled up high on a cart, that was also decorated with ribbons and plate borrowed from the neighbours, and drawn through the village preceded by morris-dancers. Some of these rush-bearings, in name at least, are still maintained, as at Barrowford, Holme, Downham. On the first Sunday in May the high hill of Hambleton is visited by many celebrants of its fair. Warton rush-bearing was held on the Sunday nearest August 5th.

"The wakes" was originally the festival of the saint under whose invocation the parish church was placed. In 1536 order was made that the dedication day should be kept instead.

The fair of Weeton, near Kirkham, began on Palm Sunday, and was characterised by the plentiful consumption of "bragget," a hot, sweet ale made without hops. Hence the name "Bragget

* Morris: *Old English Homilies* (E. E. T. S.). pp. 9, 47.

† Bede.

Sunday." The last bear-baiting took place in 1790.* Inglewhite fair formerly began on Rogation Sunday, and every householder of the village had liberty to sell ale from the Saturday preceding to the Saturday which ended the fair.

Another Sunday festival was that known as "merry fair," at Samlesbury. The "merry" is the local name of the wild cherry, which grows abundantly in the neighbourhood of the Ribble, and is much appreciated by the younger folk.

The humours of Turton fair were satirized by a local rhymester of the last century, when the village had thirteen houses at the most. The people worked hard for weeks beforehand in order to have money to spare at this festival. A service in the chapel was followed by the usual amusements, fairings and fights.

> 'Tis doubtless bad beyond comparing,
> Unless to sottish Holcombe's curst rushbearing;
> But as 'twas satirized by an abler pen
> I'll say but little on that theme again.
> Yet if reports are true, as prudence tells,
> The last's unrivalled and bears off the bells,
> Because their interludes and tragic play
> Are chiefly acted on the Sabbath day.†

Much might be said about the social festivities—Simnel Sunday, Carling Sunday, Palm Sunday, Easter Sunday, which were kept up with great spirit.

The church was not only the place for public worship, but the scene of many occurrences that would now be thought very inappropriate to the sacred edifice. Thus, on Sunday, December 4th, 1474, Nicholas del Rylond came into the parish church of Leigh, and in the presence of the congregation swore that he had never made any feoffment of his lands in Westhoughton, or authorized his son to do so. The Vicar of Leigh, after receiving this purgation, solemnly cursed the kneeling man if he had been guilty of perjury, and pronounced accursed all those who had aided William Rylonds, the son, in forging this deed. The form of cursing by "bell, book, and candle" must have impressed the

* Fishwick's *Kirkham*, p. 207.

† *Turton Fair*, by William Sheldrake. London, 1789.

rude imagination of the people. The cross was lifted up, the candles lighted, and then the priest in his vestments, by the authority of God Almighty, of the Virgin, of the saints, angels, prophets, martyrs and confessors, and by the power of "all holy "church that our Lord Jesus Christ gave to St. Peter," deprived those whom he denounced of all share in the Christian sacraments, and cursed them from the sole of their foot to the crown of their head, sleeping and waking, sitting and standing, in all their words and works, and unless they had the grace of God to amend them here in this life, to dwell for ever in the pain of hell without end. As he reached the close of this tremendous imprecation, the priest closed his book, extinguished the candle, and rang the bell. To the superstitious minds before him it would sound like the knell of a lost soul.*

In Yorkshire, at the Christmastide, they danced in the churches, crying "Yole, Yole, Yole." † A passage in Drayton shows that the Lancashire lads and lasses were equally fond of such festal observances :—

> So blyth and bonny now the lads and lasses are
> That ever as anon the bagpipe up doth blow,
> Cast in a gallant round about the hearth they go,
> And at each pause they kiss, was never seen such rule
> In any place but here, at bonfire, or at yule ;
> And every village smokes at wakes with lusty cheer,
> Then hey they cry for Lun, and hey for Lancashire.

Legal documents were frequently made on the Sunday. On the Vigil of St. Lawrence, 1298, Gilbert fitz Richard de Culchit granted to Hugh de Hyndelegh all his manor of Culchit for life, with remainder, as to one half to his wife Beatrice for life if she should over-live him. Other examples will be found in the deeds relating to Birch and Platt. ‡

After attendance at the early services of the Church, the day was chiefly devoted to honest recreation and manly sports. In 1388 Richard II. enjoins upon his subjects that servants of

* *Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Notes*, part 2, p. 161.
† Buckle : *Miscellaneous Works*, p. 547.
‡ *Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Notes*, part 1, p. 25. Cf. Birch, 202.

husbandry and artificers shall use the bow upon Sundays and holidays, but should abandon "tennis, football, cartes, dice, "casting of the stone, and other importune games." A law of Henry IV. imposed a penalty of six days' imprisonment upon the infringers of this statute.*

In 1512 the Mayor of Chester ordered that all children of six and upwards should be set to school or virtuous labour on week-days, and on Sundays and holidays resort to their parish churches, "and in the afternoon all the said male children shall "be exercised in shooting with bows and arrows, for pins and "points only, and that their parents furnish them with bows and "arrows, pins and points for the purpose, according to the statute "lately made for maintenance of shooting in long bows and "artillery, being the ancient defence of the kingdom."†

In the spacious times of great Elizabeth it was an ancient custom for the aldermen, justices, sheriffs, and leavemen of Chester to meet in the Inner Pentice, every Sunday, for a shot or a drinking. So late as 1657 the Mayor sat on the Sunday for the administration of justice. That the courts of justice sat on Sunday in ancient times is certain, but in the time of Edward IV., if not earlier, it had ceased to be a *dies juridicus* for the national law courts.‡

The day was not thought inappropriate for the execution of important measures of police. Thus at nine o'clock on Sunday night, July 10th, 1570, a search was made throughout Lancashire, Cheshire, and other parts of the kingdom, for vagrants, beggars, gamesters, rogues, or gipsies. The search lasted all through the night, and until four o'clock on Monday afternoon, and resulted in the apprehension of 13,000 masterless men.§

Elections were not postponed if the appointed time fell upon the first day of the week. At Liverpool, the election of a mayor and bailiff is directed by the charter to commence upon St.

* *Neale's Fasts and Festivals*, p. 224.
† *Lyson's Cheshire*, p. 599.
‡ *Burrows' Reports* (case of Swann *v.* Broome), III., 1598-1600.
§ Baines, 1868, i., 169.

Luke's Day; and when that day fell upon a Sunday, the election was proceeded with even in the present century.*

Sunday was also not unusually selected for the performance of mystery and miracle plays. Several collections of these dramas have come down to us. Those played at Chester by the various companies of the city were usually performed on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday in Whit-week, but they would not differ in treatment from those which began a day earlier. The *mysteries* were dramatic representations of scenes of biblical history or of matters intended to symbolize one or other of the mysteries of the Christian faith, whilst the miracle plays were founded on the legends of the wonder-working powers of the saints of the Church of Rome. The distinction between the two was not always very nicely observed. In their earlier and simpler form they were probably intended to impress the narratives upon the minds of the monks, as they were performed in the open church, and chiefly by the younger brethren. The dialogue was in Latin; but the chief points of the story were probably made intelligible by dumb show, and to that extent capable of being understood and enjoyed by the lay folk who were allowed to witness the performance. The Englishman Hilarius, who was a disciple of Abelard, wrote in the twelfth century three plays, on the Raising of Lazarus, the History of St. Daniel, and the Miracle of St. Nicholas. As early as the thirteenth century, plays in the French vernacular occur, and in the next century we find that in England also it had been discovered that if anything was to be taught by these interludes they must be spoken in a tongue that "was understanded of the "common people." The performers were still for the most part clerics, but in the fifteenth century laymen took part, and probably the greater share, in the representation. Chaucer, in describing Absolon, the parish clerk, tells us

> Sometime to show his lightnesse and maistrie,
> He plaieth Herod on a skaffold hie.

* Parliamentary Paper: Return made by W. Statham, jun., deputy town clerk, in 1832.

The last line points to a still further development of the *ludus*. The church was probably found to be inconvenient for such displays, alike for spectators and actors, and stages were erected for the purpose in the open air. Here in some green field, stretching by the side of a clear river, still unfouled by manufactures, the Thespians erected their scaffolds, or placed them upon carts, and constructed their sometimes elaborate arrangements for the separation of the scenes in heaven, earth, and hell. Amongst the payments recorded at Coventry* is that of 2d. "for mending "the mouth of hell" and 5d. "for setting the world on fire." Amongst the stage properties at Coventry we find recorded a "girdle for God," a "seldall" or seat for God, which cost 12d., and a new "sudere" for God, bought for 7d. The latter was a *veronica* or handkerchief, upon which the portrait of Jesus was supposed to be imprinted by his bloody sweat. The faces of the performers were also disguised by masks and visors. The classical student will recall more than one analogy between these mediæval performances and the Thespian comedy of Greece.

The Chester plays belong to the later age of the mediæval drama, for although they were perhaps originally composed in the fourteenth century, they were not entirely discontinued until the commencement of the seventeenth century. The proclamation made by William Newall, "clarke of the Pendice," in 24 Hen. VIII., gives, in an argumentative form, the motives and justification of those who adopted this method of edifying the common people. "For as much as ould tyme, not only "for the augmentation and increase of the body and catholik "faith of our Saviour Jesu Christ, and to exort the mindes of "comon people to good devotion and holsome doctrine thereof, "but also for the comenwelth and prosperity of this citty, a play "and declaration of divers storyes of the Bible, beginning with "the creation and fall of Lucifer, and ending with the generall "judgment of the world, to be declared and played in the "Whitsome weeke, was devised and made by one Sr. Henry

* Sharp, pp. 57, 73, 74.

"Frances, somtyme moonck of this monastrey disolved, who "obtayning and gat of Clemant, then bushop of Rome, a 1000 "dayes of pardon, and of the bushop of Chester at that tyme 40 "dayes of pardon, granted from thensforth to every person "resorting, in peaceble maner with good devotion, to heare and "see the sayd playes from tyme to tyme, as oft as the shall be "played within the sayed citty (and that every person or persons "disturbing the sayd playes in any maner wise to be accused by "the authority of the sayd pope Clemant's bulls, untill such tyme "as he or they be absolved therof) which playes were devised to "the honor of God by John Arnway, then maior of this citty of "Chester, his bretheren, and whole cominalty therof, to be brought "forth, declared, and played, at the cost and charges of the "craftesmen and occupations of the sayd citty, which hitherunto "have from tyme to tyme used and performed the same "accordingly.

"Wherfore Mr. maior, in the king's name, stratly chargeth and "comandeth that every person and persons, of what estate, degree, "or condition so ever he or they be resorting to the sayd playes, "do use themselves peaciblie, without making any asault, affray, "or other disturbance, wherby the same playes shall be disturbed, "and that no maner of person or persons, which so ever he or "they be, do use or weare any unlawfull weapons within the "precinct of the sayd citty during the tyme of the sayd playes "(not only upon payn of cursing by authority of the sayd Pope "Clemant's bulls, but also) upon payne of enprisonment of their "bodyes, and making fine to the king at Mr. Maior's pleasure."

The selection of plays by the different trades must have been in many cases purely arbitrary, though occasionally the eternal fitness of things is manifest in a quaint congruity. The tanners showed the Fall of Lucifer; the drapers the Creation and the Murder of Abel; "the good symple water-leaders and drawers of "Deey" told the story of the Flood; the barbers and wax-chandlers played the Sacrifice of Abraham; the cappers and linen drapers performed Balaam and his Asse, "and set it out lively;" the wrights had for topic the Legend of Octavian; the slaters exhibited

the Birth of Christ; the painters and glaziers showed the Herald Angels appearing to the Shepherds; the vintners acted the part of the Wise Men of the East; the mercers showed the Babe in the Manger; the goldsmiths made "comely shewe" of the Slaughter of the Innocents; the smiths played Christ in the Temple; the butchers exhibited the story of the Temptation; the glovers had as subject the Raising of Lazarus; the corvisors showed the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem; the bakers set forth the Last Supper; to the fletchers, bowyers, coopers, stringers, and ironmongers was assigned the Representation of the Sufferings and Death of Jesus; to the cooks fell the Harrowing of Hell; the skinners performed the Resurrection; the saddlers and fusterers showed the Appearance at Emmaus; the tailors showed forth the mystery of the Ascension; the fishmongers had the pageant of the Holy Ghost to perform; after which the shearmen acted the Coming of Antichrist, whose overthrow was shown by the dyers and "hewsters," after which the weavers came on in the last scene of all the world's history, when good and bad alike should come to Doomsday.

These plays, it will be seen, present a sort of compendium of the theological ideas then in vogue. How intensely anthropomorphic were the ideas entertained of the Deity in the middle ages can only be realized by the scenes in which the actor, assuming the character of God, rehearsing the works of the six days, says—

> Tomorowe the seventh day I will solempe,
> And of worcke take my reste,

and proceeding to where Adam is supposed to have been created and leading him, amidst the playing of the minstrels, into Paradise and to the tree of knowledge.

The purists of to-day are accustomed, and not always without reason, to lament the scanty dresses of the ballet, but what would they say to a "stage direction" like this? "Then Adam and Eve shall stande nackede and shall not be ashamed." Mr. Wright was inclined to think that this is "merely figurative," but there is no ground in the text for his charitable view. One of the incidents in

the sixth play is even coarser. The language of the mothers of the Innocents slaughtered by the knights of Herod would now be thought vulgar in the lowest slum. The ranting speeches of the king gave rise to Shakspere's phrase of one who "out-herods Herod." There are other indications of the coarse manners of the times, when the comic element in the dramas had to be supplied either by rude pictures of domestic strife or by grotesque *diablerie*. The wife of Noah figures as a comic "old woman;" flouts her husband; joins in singing a "good gossip's song" with her neighbours; will not enter the ark until she has drunk a quart of "Malmsine, good and strong," and administers a blow on Noah's "nut" as soon as she is in the ship of refuge. In the history of Abraham the post of Chorus is occupied by an "expositor "equitando," who explains to the "unlearned standing hereby" the significance of the scene. This function is sometimes discharged by a "godly doctor." The shepherds make a coöperative supper, consisting of new-baked bread, onions, garlic, leeks, butter that was "bought in Blackon," green cheese, Halton ale, hot meat, "a jannacke of Lancastershire," a sheep's head "sawsed in ale," a "grayne to laye on the greene," sour milk, "a gigges foote from puddinge purye," and other ingredients, making a *menu* not to have been expected on the green hill side, away from house and home. This scene, with its homely supper and stiff wrestling bout, must have been one of the earliest attempts at a realistic presentation of English common life. In the "harrowing of hell" the popular sentiment as to drunkenness is expressed by a "dear darling" of Satan, a woman who has been "of wyne and ale a trustie brewer."

> "Mysspendynge
> moche maulte brewinge so theyne
> Selling small cuppes moneye to wyn."

It is curious to hear her accusing her master, "mighty "Mahounde," of complicity in the dilution and adulteration of ale. Mahomet had another method of dealing with the troublesome problem of intemperance. It is probably an insular prejudice that causes the lady to denounce "newe made clarytte"

as a cause of sickness and disease. The lady's evil deeds win her the commendation of Satan and an offer of marriage from the second demon, who says—

> Welckome, dere ladye, I shall thee wedd,
> For manye a heavye and droncken head,
> Cause of thy ale were broughte to bead,
> Farre worse than anye beaste.

There is a certain rough vigour in the pourtrayal of the day of judgment, with the embodiment therein of the pope, the emperor, the king, the justice, and the merchant condemned to the fires of the hell. It must have required some courage on the part of the monastic dramatist to place a sovereign pontiff of Christendom amongst those who were suffering—and eternally—the penal fires. Mr. Ruskin's disciples may notice that one of the merchant's offences is thus described :—

> Occure [usury] I used willfullye,
> Wanne I never so moche theirby.

In 1529 there was played at Chester a play founded on the story of King Robert of Sicily. In 1577 the Shepherds' Play was performed at the High Cross, and other triumphs at the Roodeye, before the Earl of Derby and Lord Strange. In 1589 the play was the life of King Ebranke, an early British king, who is fabled to have had twenty wives, twenty sons, and thirty daughters.

On the Sunday after Midsummer in the year 1563 the play of "Robert Cicell" was played at the High Cross, and on the corresponding festival in 1564 the story of Æneas and Dido was played on the Roodeye, with much spectacular display.* Sir Lawrence Smith was mayor in 1558, 1563, and 1570, and there is still extant an agreement between him and two artists who covenanted to paint and have in readiness, with all the furniture thereto belonging, "four gyants, one unicorne, one dromedarye, "one luce, one camell, one asse, one dragon, six hobbye horses, "and sixteen naked boys, and the same being in readiness, shall "bear or carry, or cause to be borne and carried during the

* *Chester's Triumph* (Chetham Soc. iii.), p. vi., vii.

Watche" on St. John's Eve, &c.* The giants appear to have been enormous figures made of hoops, deal boards, nails, pasteboard, and similar materials, fastened together partly by nails and partly by paste, in which it was necessary to put arsenic, to prevent the giants from being eaten by rats! The figures were covered with cloth, buckram, &c., and decorated with tinsel, gold and silver leaf, and similar ornaments. Archdeacon Rogers has left the following description of a performance, which took place in 1595. "The "time of the yeare they were played was on Monday, Tuesday, "and Wensedaye in Whitson weeke. The maner of these "weare every company had his pajiant or parte, which pajiants "weare a high scafolde with 2 rowmes, a higher and a lower, "upon four wheeles. In the lower they apparelled them selves. "and in the higher rowme they played, beinge all open on the "tope, that all behoulders mighte heare and see them. The "places where they played then was in every streete. They "begane first at the abay gates, and when the firste pajiante was "played, it was wheeled to the highe crosse before the mayor, "and so to every streete; and soe every streete had a pajiant "playinge before them at one time, till all the pajiantes for the "day appoynted weare played; and when one pajiant was neere "ended, worde was broughte from streete to streete, that soe the "mighte come in place thereof, exedinge orderlye, and all the "streetes have theire pajiantes afore them all at one time "playeinge togeather; to se which playes was greate resorte, and "also scafoldes and stages made in the streetes in those places "where they determined to play theire pajiantes."

The same characteristics might be further illustrated from the "Towneley Mysteries," which were once thought to have been the property of the abbey of Whalley, but are now credited to the Canons of Woodkirk. The performances would attract great numbers to the fairs at Woodkirk. The peaceful festivities were occasionally interrupted by untoward persons, as when John de Heton and Amabil his wife made a general assault upon the spectators assembled at the Nativity Fair. It was probably owing

* Sharp, p. 204.

to such disturbances that in 1542 Bishop Bonner prohibited "all "manner of common plays, games, or interludes to be set forth "or declared within their churches, chapels, &c." This order was certainly not generally enforced.*

In 1599 the Mayor of Chester, being "a godly and zealous "man," broke the civic monsters that they could "not goe." They were set out again in 1601, but suffered sad eclipse in the civil war period. With the Restoration they were revived, but finally abolished in 1678.

The Corpus Christi plays sometimes began on the Sunday at "six of the bell." † Weever, who was a Lancashire man, tells us that Richard "Marlow was Lord Mayor in the year 1409, "in whose mayoralty there was a play at Skinners' Hall, which "lasted eight days (saith Stow) 'to hear which most of the "'greatest estates of England were present.' The subject of the "play was the sacred Scriptures from the creation of the world. "They call this Corpus Christi play in my country, which I have "seen acted at Preston and Lancaster, and last of all at Kendall, "in the beginning of the reign of King James; for which the "townsmen were sore troubled; and upon good reasons the "play finally supprest, not only there but in all other townes of "the kingdom."‡

That the religious teaching of the Mysteries was not very effective is evidenced by a statement of the Rev. John Shaw, an earnest puritan at Cartmel, who found the people ignorant but willing, and frequently had some thousands of hearers who thronged the church so, that at nine o'clock in the morning he had great difficulty in reaching the pulpit. One day he met an old man, "sensible enough in other things," who was ignorant of all knowledge of God, and apparently devoid of theological information of any kind. When the minister began to explain about Christ to the old man, "Oh, sir," said he, "I think I heard "of that man you speak of once in a play at Kendall, called

* *Townley Mysteries* (Surtees Society, 1836, p. xvii.) Sharp, p. 7.
† Sharpe, p. 7.
‡ *Funeral Monuments*, p. 405.

"Corpus Christ's play, where there was a man on a tree, and "blood ran down, &c. And afterwards he professed that he "could not remember that he ever heard of salvation by Jesus "but in that play."

Plays were not only acted in the theatres of London, but companies of actors went forth into the country and performed at the great houses of the gentry for the entertainment of the host and guests. The first royal license was to the Globe Theatre, on the Bankside, in 1574, the actors being under the protection of the Earl of Leicester, and bearing his name. Other noblemen gave permission to these small itinerant guilds to wear their badge. The accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthorp contain many entries of gratuities paid to players and wandering minstrels. They were in especial demand when marriages or other festivities were being celebrated. Gawthorp appears to have patronised them freely at the wedding of Ann and Ellinor Shuttleworth. The players of Sir Peter Leigh, of the Earl of Essex, of the Earl of Derby, of Lord Dudley, of Lord Mounteagle, and of Lord Stafford repeatedly visited the mansions of Sunthills and and Gawthorp between 1586 and 1617. There were also players who are described as of, or from, Preston, Nantwich, Garstang, Blackburn, Chester, Downham, &c. The piper of Padiham, the musicians of Chester, the waits of Halifax, are also mentioned as receiving gratuities. In the early history of the drama, the plays appear to have been "acted upon Sundays only; after 1579 "they were acted on Sundays and other days indiscriminately." Thus, in 1589, the Queen's players and the Earl of Essex's players arrived at Knowsley, and on the Sunday following, the rector of Standish preached in the morning, the Queen's men acted in the afternoon, and the Earl's men at night. At Lathom, on Sunday, 11th January, 1589, Mr. Caldwell preached in the morning, and "that night the players played." September 13th, Mr. Leigh preached, and the Queen's players played in the afternoon, and Lord Essex's at night.*

Dean Nowell's account book shews a gift of 12d. to the

* *Stanley Papers and Shuttleworth Accounts* (Chetham Society).

minstrel of Sir Thomas Hesketh of Rufford. Alexander Hoghton bequeathed all his musical instruments and play clothes to his brother Thomas, if he decided to keep players; and if not, then to Sir Thomas Hesketh.*

As an evidence of the rising tide of Puritanism, we find that in 1590 complaint was made that the "popish fasts and festivals" were better observed than "the Sabbath," and that on the latter day, fairs and markets were commonly held in most towns, and wakes, ales, greens, maygames, rushbearings, doveales, bonfires, gaming, piping and dancing celebrated upon it.†

We have no records of the acting of Mystery Plays in Manchester; but one often-cited passage shews that Bradford the Martyr, preaching in the reign of Edward VI., "told the "people, as it were by a prophetical spirit, that as they did not "readily embrace the Word of God, mass should be said again "in that church, and the play of Robin Hood acted there, "which accordingly came to pass in Queen Mary's reign."‡ Robin Hood often had a part in the May-day festivities. It is possible that this may have been the "playe of Robyn Hode "very proper to be played in Maye Games," which was printed by Copland. The characters are, Little John, Friar Tuck, the Potter (who is represented with a rose garland on his head), and his boy Jacke. As the play ends very abruptly, it may be only a fragment, especially as Maid Marian does not appear on the scene.

The sport of the Lord of Misrule is described by Stubbs, the fanatical Puritan. The wild heads of the parish having appointed one to be "my Lord of Misrule," he made choice of twenty or even a hundred companions, who—dressed in gay-coloured clothes and decked out in scarfs, ribbons and laces, and hung over with "gold rings, precious stones, and other jewels"—have each from twenty to twenty-four bells on their legs,—"with rich hand-

* Thomas Newton, of Chester, in a treatise touching dice play and profane gaming, remarks—"Augustine forbiddeth us to bestowe any money for the seeing of stage plays and "enterludes, or to give any thing unto players therein; and yet these kind of persons doe, "after a sorte, let out their labour unto us, and their industrie many times is laudable."

† Chetham Society, vol. xcvi., p. 2. ‡ Hollingworth's *Mannerisms*.

"kerchiefs in their hands and sometimes laid across their "shoulders, borrowed for the most part of their pretty Mopsies "and loving Bessies for bussing them in the dark." This gay throng, with "their hobby-horses, their dragons, and other "antiques," with pipers and drummers, danced along through the crowd of admiring villagers to the church, "though the minister "be at church or preaching." The folk in the church stood up on forms and pews to watch this motley procession, which, leaving the church, proceeded outside, where booths and arbours were fixed. "And thus," exclaims Puritan Stubbs, "these "terrestrial furies spend the Sabboth day." Another Puritan states that the *maymarrions* were men dressed up as women, contrary to Deut. xxii. 5—and that the morris dancers sometimes "danced naked in nets;" and that the custom of young men and girls going on the previous evening to fetch the mayboughs was a source of impropriety.* Northbrooke makes the same accusation.

The morris dance is considered to be a modification of a Moorish dance. Peck considers that it was introduced into England on the return of John of Gaunt, but Douce thinks it more likely to have come from the French or the Fleming. Morris dancers accompanied the Robin Hood pageant, but were, at least originally, a subsidiary part of the spectacle. The morris dancers continued to be in favour in Lancashire, but their Sunday sports were remitted to a more fitting day. Ritson copies from the London *Star*, a notice of the visit of the morris dancers of Pendleton to Salford, on Monday, 30th July, 1792.†

The honours paid the Queen of the May, whether represented by a male "Maid Marian" or by some rustic beauty elected to be mistress of the sports, is in all probability a survival of the worship once paid to the goddess Flora in the Roman festival.‡

The hobby-horse was a structure of pasteboard, counterfeiting the head and tail of a horse, the omitted parts of the beast being covered by a cloth, and the simulated cavalier exerting all his

* Douce's *Illustrations*, p. 584. † Ritson. R. H., I., ccxxiii. ‡ Douce, p. 590.

skill in grotesque parodies of equestrian ability. From the horse's mouth was suspended a ladle, for the contributions of the admiring audience.

Amongst all but the highest classes, Sunday was the chief time for social festivities. The wedding feasts or "bride ales" were held on the Sunday, and the feasting at them was the subject of many regulations by the Court Leet Jury of Manchester. It was decreed in 1566 that not more than fourpence a head should be paid at these gatherings, and those who exceeded that sum were fined in 3os. The wedding guests were enlivened by the music of the town waits, and the Court Leet set their face against any attempt to introduce strange musicians, to the prejudice of the pipers of the town. In 1569, exception as to cost was made in favour of "ales for highways, bridges, or churches." These "ales" were assemblages for social and business purposes, which sometimes degenerated into dangerous license. It was ordered in 1574, that any person "found drunken in any ale house," should pass a night in the dungeon and pay a fine of 6d.; and if he were too poor to find this sum, then "the goodman or the "goodwife" of the ale house had to pay for him. If the ale keeper was found drunk, he was to be imprisoned for the night, "and from thenceforth be discharged from alehouse-keeping." Children and servants frequented the wedding ales, and this was forbidden by fines levied on the fathers and masters.*

In 1579, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners,—Henry Earl of Derby, Henry Earl of Huntington, and William Bishop of Chester,—in an assembly at Manchester, issued a proclamation against "pipers and minstrels making and frequenting bear-baiting "and bull-baiting on the Sabbath days or upon any other days; "and also against superstitious ringing of bells, wakes and "common feasts, drunkenness, gaming, and other vicious and "unprofitable pursuits." This cannot have been very operative, for a document—probably issued in March, 1589, and signed by J. Byron, R. Shirborn, E. Trafford, and other Lancashire gentlemen—sets forth that "the enormities of the Sabothe" are, wakes,

* *Manchester Court Leet Records* (Chetham Society).

fairs, markets, bear-baits, bull-baits, ales, May games, resorting to ale houses in times of divine service, piping and dancing, hunting, and all manner of unlawful gaming. The document then calls upon mayors, churchwardens, &c., to suppress these enormities by all lawful means. In this year, Robert Asnall, of Gorton, "was slain with a bull at the stake." *

The teaching of the Puritans was set forth by Dr. Nicholas Bound, who, in 1595, and again in 1606, issued a weighty treatise, in which the identity of the Sabbath and Sunday was asserted, and the strictest view taken of the obligations of the day, and of the sinfulness of recreation upon it. The insertion of the fourth commandment in the Liturgy, and the prayer of the people that their hearts might be "inclined to keep this law" had paved the way for the Puritan doctrine. It spread with rapidity, and was embraced with great fervour. "On this day," says Fuller, "the stoutest fencer laid down the buckler; the "most skilful archer unbent his bow, counting all shooting beside "the mark; May games and morris dances grew out of request; "and good reason that bells should be silenced from jingling "about men's legs, if their very ringing in steeples were adjudged "unlawful. Some of them were ashamed of their former "pleasures,—like children, which, grown bigger, blush themselves "out of their rattles and whistles. Others forebore for fear of "their superiors; and many left off out of a politic compliance, "lest otherwise they should be accounted licentious." Bound allowed cooking of meat on Sundays; but whilst he denied the lawfulness of the labour of harvest and seed time, he was willing to allow something to the "feasts of noblemen and great "personages," since they represent "in some measure the majesty "of God on the earth"! The essence of Bound's doctrine, reduced to practice, is that "upon the Lord's day we ought to "rest from all honest recreations and lawful delights." He called upon the civil power to enforce this Sabbath.

The Sunday entries in the private diary of Dr. John Dee, Warden of Manchester, are notable, as its latest editor has pointed

* *Lancashire Lieutenancy* (Chetham Society), p. 218.

out, for saying very little about the spiritual condition of the parish over which Dee presided. We find him paying wages and receiving cattle from his Welsh kinsfolk. On Sunday, the 21st of August, 1597, he records that "The Erle and Cowntesse of "Derby had a banket at my lodging at the Colledge hora 4½." The banquet of this period we are told by Wright was "often "held in the garden." At the banquet the choicest wines were brought forth, and the table was covered with pastry and sweetmeats, of which our forefathers at this period appear to have been extremely fond. A usual article at the banquet was marchpanes or biscuits made of sugar and almonds, in different fanciful forms, such as men, animals, houses, &c. There was generally one at least in the form of a castle, which the ladies and gentlemen were to batter to pieces, in frolic, by attacking it with sugar plums.*

Robert Heywood, in his "Observations," has this verse :—

Playinge upon the Sabooth dayes
To breed distractions in the minde,
Yea, full as much and many wayes
As worke or worldly thoughts I finde :
Then rest thy minde (instead of playe)
In God, and sport another day.

"Judgments" upon Sabbath breakers were freely cited. One was of a noble who, for hunting upon the Sunday, was punished by the birth of a child with a dog's head. The accident at Paris garden on the 13th January, 1583, when a thousand persons are said to have been present at a bear-baiting, was another notable instance for the followers of Bound. The efforts of Whitgift to suppress the book were unavailing.

When James I. in 1617, on his return from Scotland, passed through Lancashire, there was every desire to do him honour, and to give him a hearty welcome. On the 14th of August he came to Carlisle, and thence by Appleby, Wharton, Kendal, Hornby Castle, and Ashton to Myerscough and Houghton Tower. Sir Richard Houghton had induced many of the lesser gentry of

* Wright: *Homes of other Days*, p. 471.

the neighbourhood to assume his livery, in order to give greater grace to the festivities. The request was made to Nicholas Assheton and his "brother Sherborne," on Sunday, the 1st of June. This remnant of feudal clanship was well understood to be merely a token of good will, and not to indicate any relation of dependency. One of those who thus put on Sir Richard's cloth was Nicholas Assheton of Downham, who has left, in the rough memoranda of his diary, some striking pictures of the festivities. Sir Richard went forward to meet the king, but the monarch had made his entrance into the forest of Garstang by another way. He was overtaken by the Lancashire gentry with Sir Richard at their head, who stept to the side of the king's coach, and told him that there his majesty's forest began. After the arrival at Myerscough Lodge the king hunted and killed a buck. The next day was marked by more hunting and by a royal declaration, which was afterwards to become famous as the *Book of Sports*. When Squire Nicholas listened to "the king's speech about "liberty to piping and honest recreation," he had probably very little idea of the controversies and results that would arise from the promulgation of that apparently welcome and well-timed announcement. It is stated that a petition was presented to the king by a great number of peasants, tradesmen, and servants of the county palatine, asking that they might be allowed the old liberty of out-door diversions after the services of the church. Where or when this memorial was presented is nowhere stated, nor are its terms extant. Certainly those who disliked the innovations of the Puritans lost no time; for the king's speech is recorded by Assheton as having been delivered on the first day that his majesty was in Lancashire. The county, it must be remembered, was equally noted for its "Puritans" and its "Papists," two classes for whom the monarch had a hearty dislike. Bishop Morton's biographer received from that prelate an account of the origin of the *Book of Sports*, which is probably as accurate a statement as can now be obtained. The recusants not unnaturally made the most of the difference between the Sundays of the Church before and after the Reformation, and

represented Protestantism as a religion of gloom and austerity The leaders of the recusants hoped "to keep the people from "church by dancing and other recreations, even in the time of "divine service, especially on holy days and the Lord's day in "the afternoon." Morton denounced these Sunday recreations, and endeavoured to repress them in his primary visitation. The Lancashire lads were not so easily to be converted from their old sports, and so some friends of the recusants, or some enemies of the gloom of the Puritan Sabbath, represented his action to the king as a "high grievance." James I., with all his bad qualities, was no enemy of mirth, and his temper would lead him to sympathise with the plea for Sunday sports, and hence, no doubt, his rebuke of those who would, as it was then phrased, judaize the Sunday. Their triumph over the ecclesiastics "encouraged some "to so much boldness the next Lord's Day after, as even to "disturb the public worship and service of God by their piping "and dancing within hearing of all those that were at church." Before proceeding with the Bishop's narrative, let us see how the King and his suite spent this particular Sunday. Assheton and his fellow-gentlemen servitors offered the lords assembled biscuit, wine, and jelly, as the prelude to a sermon preached by Bishop Morton, after which the company proceeded to dinner. The *menu* of this repast has survived, and may serve as a contrast to the banquets of more modern times.

SUNDAY'S DINNER, THE 17TH OF AUGUST.—FOR THE LORDS' TABLE.

FIRST COURSE: Pullets — boiled capon — mutton, boiled — boiled chickens — shoulder of mutton, roast — ducks, boiled — loin of veal, roast — pullets — haunch of venison, roast — burred capon — pasty of venison, hot — roast turkey — veal, burred — swan roast, one; and one for to-morrow — chicken pye, hot — goose, roasted — rabbits, cold — jiggits of mutton, boiled — snipe pye — breast of veal, boiled — capons, roast — pullet — beef, roast — tongue pye, cold — sprod, boiled — herons roast, cold — curlew pye, cold — mince pye, hot — custards — pig, roast. SECOND COURSE: Hot

pheasant, one; and one for the king—quails, six for the king—partridge—poults—artichoke pye—chickens—curlews, roast—peas, buttered—rabbits—duck—plovers—red deer pye—pig, burred—hot herons, roast, three of a dish—lamb, roast—gammon of bacon—pigeons, roast—made dish—chicken, burred—pear tart—pullets and grease—dryed tongues—turkey pye—pheasant pye—pheasant tart—hogs' cheeks, dryed—turkey chicks, cold.

The dinner was followed, about four o'clock, by a rushbearing, preceded by "piping." The king was a spectator in the Middle Court of this rustic festival. Doubtless the rush cart would be even more heavily laden than usual with its borrowed finery, and the lads and lasses who frolicked around it in their holiday costume, decked out with garlands and ribbons, would do their best to show their rural merriment in its most attractive aspect to the "dread monarch," surrounded by his brilliant courtiers. After this amusement the Court proceeded to supper, which, if less formidable in its character than the dinner, was not merely a ceremonial institution, as this "note of the diet" will shew:—First Course: Pullet—boiled capon—cold mutton—ducks, boiled—chickens, baked—pullet—cold neat's-tongue pye—plovers—chickens—pear tart—rabbits—shoulder of mutton, roast—chicken, boiled—cold capon—roast veal—rabbits, boiled—pullet—turkey, roast—pasty of venison, hot—shoulder of venison, roast—herons, cold—sliced beef—umble pye—neat's-tongue, roast—sprod, boiled—curlews baked, cold—turkeys baked, cold—neat's feet—boiled rabbits—rabbits, fried. Second Course: Quails—poults—herons—pease, buttered—made dish—ducks—gammon of bacon—red deer pye—pigeons—wild-boar pye—curlew—dry neat's-tongue—neat's-tongue tart—dried hog's cheek—red deer pye.*

After supper, the king adjourned to the middle round of the garden, and then, about ten or eleven o'clock, there passed before him a masque of noblemen, knights, and gentlemen. There were some speeches, followed by "dancing the Huckler, Tom Bedlo, "and the cowp Justice of the Peace." Sometime during this

* Nichols: *Progresses of James I.*, p. 402.

busy day, it is to be presumed, Bishop Morton complained of the profaneness of those whose merriment had disturbed the worshippers at church. The king, whose reputation for piety was all that could be desired, disavowed any intention of countenancing such excesses, and left the offenders to the censure of the bishop, who was content with "causing the piper "to be laid up by the heels," and causing one person not named, who was the head and front of the offence, to make public acknowledgment and penance. Some of the gentry at Houghton Tower, however, still contended that the bishop's action in regard to Sunday observance had been harsh and tyrannical. The chief thing they desired "was only some innocent recreation for "servants and other inferior people on the Lord's Day and holy "days, whose laborious callings deprived them of it at all other "times." James therefore consulted with Morton as to the best way of finding a medium between liberty and license. The bishop thereupon left Houghton Tower and proceeded to his own lodging at Preston, and "considered of six limitations or "restrictions, by way of conditions to be imposed upon every "man that should enjoy the benefit of that liberty." Next day the bishop presented the result of his labours to the king, probably at Lathom House. The British Solomon added a seventh condition, and said that he very well approved what had been written, and would only alter it from the words of a bishop to the words of a king. It was issued as a proclamation from the Court at Greenwich in 1618. The king, after reciting "the "general complaint of our people that they were barred from "all lawful recreation and exercise upon the Sunday's afternoon, "after the ending of divine service," expresses a fear that this will aid the Romanists by giving them an occasion to represent that "no honest mirth or recreation is tolerable in our religion," and is further apprehensive that this prohibition "barreth the common "and meaner sort of people from using such exercises as may "make their bodies more able for war." Drunkenness and discontented speeches in ale houses are also named as flowing from this source: "For when shall the common people have

"leave to exercise, if not upon the Sundays and holidays, seeing "they must apply their labour and win their living in all working "days?" The bishop of the diocese was therefore required to make the "Puritans and Precisians" to conform to public worship; but those who had been to church were to be at liberty after the close of the service, and should be allowed lawful recreation, "such as dancing—either men or women,—archery for men, leap-"ing, vaulting, or any other such harmless recreation; nor from "having of May-games, Whitson-ales, and morris dances, and the "setting up of May-poles and other sports therewith used, so as "the same be had in due and convenient time, without impedi-"ment or let of divine service; and that women shall have leave "to carry rushes to the church for the decoring of it, according "to their old custom. But withal we do here account still as "prohibited all unlawful games to be used upon Sundays only, "as bear and bull baitings, interludes, and at all times in the "meaner sort of people by law prohibited, bowling." This is the essential part of the *Book of Sports*, the remainder being a prohibition of recusants and non-churchgoers from participation in the liberty it allowed. Fuller has recorded "what grief and "distraction thereby was occasioned in many honest men's hearts." It may be well to quote this document in full, as it has often been misrepresented.

"¶ By the King."

"Whereas upon Our returne the last yere out of Scotland, We "did publish Our Pleasure touching the recreations of Our people "in those parts under Our hand: For some causes Vs thereunto "mooving, Wee haue thought good to command these Our "Directions then giuen in Lancashire with a few words thereunto "added, and most appliable to these of Our Realmes, to bee "published to all Our Subiects.

"Whereas Wee did iustly in our Progresse through Lancashire, "rebuke some Puritanes and precise people, and tooke order that "the like vnlawfull carriage should not bee vsed by any of them "hereafter, in the prohibiting and vnlawfull punishing of Our good

"people for vsing their lawfull Recreations, and honest exercises "vpon Sundayes and other Holy dayes, after the afternoone "Sermon or Seruice: Wee now finde that two sorts of people "wherewith that Countrey is much infected, (Wee meane Papists "and Puritanes) haue maliciously traduced and calumniated "those Our iust and honourable proceedings. And therefore "lest Our reputation might vpon the one side (though innocently) "haue some aspersion layd vpon it, and that vpon the other part "Our good people in that Countrey be misled by the mistaking "and misinterpretation of Our meaning: We have therefore "thought good hereby to cleare and make Our pleasure to be "manifested to all Our good People in those parts.

"It is true that at Our first entry to this Crowne, and King- "dome, Wee were informed, and that too truely, that Our County "of Lancashire abounded more in Popish Recusants then any "County in England, and thus hath still continued since to Our "great regrett, with little amendmēt, saue that now of late, in "Our last riding through Our said County, Wee find both by the "report of the Iudges, and of the Bishop of that diocesse, that "there is some amendment now daily beginning, which is no "small contentment to Vs.

"The report of this growing amendment amongst them, made "Vs the more sorry, when with Our owne Eares We heard the "generall complaint of Our people, that they were barred from "all lawfull Recreation and exercise vpon the Sundayes after- "noone, after the ending of all Diuine Seruice, which cannot but "produce two euils: The one, the hindering of the conuersion of "many, whom their Priests will take occasion hereby to vex, "persuading them that no honest mirth or recreation is lawfull or "tolerable in Our Religion, which cannot but breed a great "discontentment in Our peoples hearts, especially of such as are "peraduenture vpon the point of turning; The other inconuenience "is, that this prohibition barreth the common and meaner sort of "people from vsing such exercises as may make their bodies "more able for Warre, and Wee or Our Successours shall haue "occasion to vse them. And in place thereof set vp filthy

"tiplings and drunkennesse, and breeds a number of idle and "discontented speeches in their Alehouses. For when shall the "common people haue leaue to exercise, if not vpon the Sun "dayes and holydaies, seeing they must apply their labour and "win their liuing in all working daies?

"Our expresse pleasure therefore is, that the Lawes of Our "Kingdome, and Canons of Our Church: which to expresse "more particularly, Our pleasure is, That the Bishop, and all other "inferiour Churchmen, and Churchwardens, shall for their parts "be carefull and diligent, both to instruct the ignorant, and "conuince and reforme them that are mis-led in Religion, "presenting them that will not conforme themselues, but obsti-"nately stand out to Our Iudges and Iustices: Whom Wee "likewise command to put the Law in due execution against "them.

"Our pleasure likewise is, That the Bishop of that Diocesse "take the like straight order with all the Puritanes and Precisians "within the same, either constraining them to conforme them-"selues, or to leaue the County according to the Lawes of Our "Kingdome and Canons of Our Church, and is to strike equally "on both hands, against the contemners of Our Authority and "Adversaries of Our Church. And as for Our good peopells "lawfull Recreation, Our Pleasure likewise is, That after Diuine "Seruice, Our good people be not disturbed, letted, or dis-"courged from any lawfull recreation, Such as dauncing, either "men or women, archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other "such harmlesse Recreation, nor from hauing May-Games, "Whitson Ales, and Morrisdances, and the setting vp of May-"poles and other sports therewith vsed, so as the same be had in "due and conuenient time, without impediment or neglect of "Diuine Seruice: And that women shall haue leaue to carry "rushes to the Churches for the decoring of it, according to their "old costam. But withall We doe here account still as pro-"hibited all vnlawfull games to bee vsed vpon Sundayes onely, "as Beare and Bullbaitings, Interludes, and at all times in the "meaner sort of people by law prohibited, Bowling.

"And likewise We barre from this benefite and liberty, all "such known recusants, either men or women, as will abstaine "from comming to Church or Diuine Seruice, being therefore "vnworthy of any lawfull recreation after the said Seruice, that "will not first come to the Church and serue God: Prohibiting "in like sort the said Recreations to any that, though conforme "in Religion, are not present in the Church at the Seruice of "God, before their going to the said Recreations. Our pleasure "likewise is, That they to whom it belongeth in Office, shall "present and sharpely punish all such as in abuse of this Our "liberty, will vse these exercises before the ends of all Diuine "Seruice for that day. And We likewise straightly command, "that euery person shall resort to his owne Parish Church to "heare Diuine Seruice, and each Parish by it selfe to vse the "said Recreation after Diuine Seruice. Prohibiting likewise any "Offensiue weapons to be carried or vsed in the said times of "Recreations. And Our pleasure is, That this Our Declaration "shall bee published by order from the Bishop of the Diocesse, "through all the Parish Churches, and that both Our Iudges of "Our Circuit, and Our Iustices of Our Peace be informed "thereof.

"Given at our Mannour of Greenwich the foure and twentieth "day of May, in the sixteenth yeere of our reigne of England, "France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the one and fiftieth."

Nicholas Assheton, the Squire of Downham, though fond of field sports and not *always* abstemious in his habits, was yet a regular church-goer and accounted a Puritan. On Sunday, Sept. 17, he enters in his diary: "All to church. Mr. Leigh of "Standish preached. Afternoon—copyhold business in hand. "Divers gentlemen went into the town with Sir John Talbot. "My father lay in the abbey. I to Portfield again." The entry for the following 19th July is even further removed from the Puritan ideal:—"Sherborne, Starkee, &c., to Clitheroe: staid "drinking some wyne: soe to a summer game: Sherburne's "mare run, and lost the bell: made merrie: staid untill, &c.,

"2 o'clock at Downham." On one occasion Richard Sherburne, who was so drunk on a Sunday that he fell and dislocated his shoulder, a few days later is found in hot argument about the impropriety of the curate of Slaidburne, who administered the Holy Communion without a surplice! On Sunday, 19th July, 1619, we find that odd Puritan, Nicholas Assheton, engaged in a horse race for a wager, which "summer game" was followed by hard drinking, with which the company made merry.

Mr. John Bruen of Bruen Stapleford was a nearer approach to the typical Puritan than the hard-riding Squire of Downham. Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Done and his wife were placed by her father as boarders with Bruen, whose house seems to have been a Protestant monastery. Young Done and his bride did not relish the dulness of the Bruen Stapleford Sunday, whereupon the Bruens "did conspire to do him good;" and ten of the family—the host being the last—enlarged upon the sanctification of the Lord's day. This must have been as terrible as the fate which Sidney Smith described as being talked to death by wild curates. Another of Bruen's guests was his cousin Dutton, who "being pressed and charged," says Bruen, "by some of great "place to maintain his royalty of minstrelsy for piping and "dancing on the Sabbath day,—my minister, my selfe, and my "family were earnest against it." They prevailed upon him to have the Sunday omitted. Done entertained King James in 1617, and was knighted by him.

Mr. Bruen had a great horror of wakes and rushbearings; and to counteract "all riot and excesse of eating and drinking, "dalliance and dancing, sporting and gaming, and other abomin- "able impieties and idolatries," was in the habit of inviting the best affected preachers in the diocese, who spent the greater part of the three days of Tarvin wakes in preaching, "so as the pipers "and fiddlers and bearwards, and players and gamesters, had no "time left them for their varieties." *

In 1625, an act received the royal assent of Charles I., by which bear-baiting, bull-baiting, interludes, common plays, and

* *Assheton's Journal*, p. 31.

other "unlawful exercises" on Sunday were prohibited. It was especially directed against concourses of non-parishioners.

In 1633, Charles I., by the advice of Archbishop Laud, re-issued the "Book of Sports," with an explanatory preface. This was no doubt intended to counteract the growing strength and fervour of the Puritans, but it only intensified their zeal and their hatred of Laud. The impolitic action of Laud, in punishing those who conscientiously refused to read this document, was one of the causes of his downfall. Ten years later, the Long Parliament caused this declaration to be burned by the common hangman.

Some of the festivities allowed by the Book of Sports are described with animation in a "country song," preserved by Mr. Blundell* :—

Robin and Ralph and Willy
Took Susan and Ginnet and Cisly;
And Roger and Richard and Geordy
Took Mary and Peggy and Marjory;
And danced a hornpipe merrily:
Tired out the bagpipe and fiddle
With dancing the hornpipe and didle.

But Gilbert and Thomas and Harry,
Whose sweethearts were Nell, Nan, and Marie,
Took sides against Giles, James, and Richard,
Whose wenches were Joan, Jane, and Bridget.
The wager was for a wheat cake.
They danced till their bones did ache,
That Gilbert and Nanny and Nellie
Did sweat themselves into a jelly.

The lads of Chowbent were there,
And had brought their dogs to the bear;
But they had no time to play,
They danced away the day;
For hither then they had brought Knex
To play Chowbent hornpipe, that Nick's,
Tommy's, and Geffrey's shoon
Were worn quite through with the tune.

The lads of Latham did dance
Their Lord Strange hornpipe, which once
Was held to be the best,
And far to exceed all the rest.
But now they do hold it too sober,
And therefore will needs give it over.
They call on their piper then jovially,
"Play us brave Roger o' Coverley."

* *Cavalier's Notebook.*

The Meols men danced their Cop,
And about the may-pole did hop,
Till their shoes were so full of sand,
That they could no longer stand.
The Formby trotter supplied,
Who, though that his breeches were wide,
Yet would they ne'er give it o'er
Till the piper was ready to snore.

But Gilbert and Susan and Nanny,
With Tom and Dick, Cisly, and many,
Tripped and skipped full merrily,
The music now sounding out cheerily.
Dick booted, Nel flouted, he shouted
"Tak't thee James Pyper of Formby;
"Tak't thee, tak't thee, tak't thee,
"Tak't thee James Pyper of Formby."

At length it was time to go,
And Susan did hear the cock crow.
The maids might go make up the fires,
Or else be chid by their sires.
Next holyday, they'll ha' their fill
At Johnson's o' th' Talke of the hill,
Where Bell shall be brought to play.
Alack, how I long for that day!

Sir William Brereton, when travelling in Holland, entered Amsterdam on Whitsunday afternoon, 1634-5, and observes:—"Here is little respect had to the sanctity of the Sabbath: the "young children girls walked all the Sabbath in the afternoon "with cups or tuns in their hands; they were about five or six "years of age; other elder, about ten and thirteen and fourteen "years of age, guided these little ones, and sung, screaming "and squeaking and straining their voices. Such as they met "gave them money, which they put into the cups, which was "intended to buy a wassail-cup or carouse: this they continued "all Monday."

Amongst the ejected ministers was Sabbath Clark, Minister of Tarvin in Cheshire. Dr. Cosin, at a visitation held at Warrington in 1643, had him "rebaptized, took's marke and call'd him "Saturday."* In 1634 Edward Burghal, Puritan Vicar of Acton, notes that a woman in Chester, "going upon the walls to get "plums on the Lord's day, fell down and broke her neck."

Views opposed to the Puritans were entertained by many in the Church. Thus Bishop Sanderson allows "shooting,

* Bardsley: *Curiosities of Puritan Nomenclature*, p. 180.

"leaping and pitching bar, stool ball, &c.," as proper recreations for the "ruder sort of people," who would find no recreation in the walking and discoursing that would be for men of liberal education "a pleasant recreation." Others were somewhat vacillating in their conduct. Dr. John Pocklington preached in 1636, at the visitation of the Bishop of Lincoln, a violent attack on the Puritan doctrine, which was printed with the title of "Sunday no Sabbath." Four years later the Long Parliament had the book burned by the hangman, and the author was tried by a Committee of Peers. He refused to recant, and was deprived of the offices of Prebendary of Peterborough and Canon of Windsor. Further punishment was contemplated, but he died in 1642, "being in a manner broken-hearted." In this persecution, Williams Bishop of Lincoln joined, although in former years, and before the turn of the tide, he had been so little of a Sabbatarian that, if we may credit Heylin, he had upon an ordination Sunday caused a comedy to be acted at his house at Bugden, to which he invited the Earl of Manchester and the neighbouring gentry. Archbishop Bancroft enjoyed the same amusement at Lambeth Palace.* When the Parliament held sway a different order of things would be the rule. In their zeal to reform the manners of the nation the theatres were closed, the Maypoles became illegal, the fairs, as far as possible, were reduced from festivals to mere market assemblies, and generally all was done that could be done to discourage the old-fashioned amusements, whether on the week-day or the Sunday. How firmly the greater sanctity of the Sunday had taken hold of the English mind is shown in the account which Horrox has left of his famous observation of the transit of Venus in 1639. He began to watch for the phenomenon on Saturday at midday, and continued his watch for more than four and twenty hours, except during certain intervals when he was "called away by business of the highest "importance, which could not with propriety be neglected." The business which called away the greatest astronomical genius of his age from the most interesting and important astronomical

* Cox; *Literature of Sabbath Question*, p. 265.

phenomenon of the century, was that of preaching to the handful of people in the little church of Hoole, where Horrox ministered. Piety would scarcely have frowned if he had neglected her claims on this one occasion for the charms of Science.

To Adam Martindale, when at Rostherne, fell the duty of seeing the execution of a stringent Lord's Day Act, made in 1656. As there was a penalty of five pounds for any neglect to enforce this ordinance, worldly wisdom seconded puritanical rigour. One whose name is not mentioned did some action, not named, which Martindale thought to be within the meaning of the statute. The offender, when expostulated with, "roundly" retorted by a slanderous statement, that his Puritan reprover had robbed the poor box! This is probably a fair specimen of the difficulties that would occur in the carrying out of this law.* In the Sunday controversy which now raged for several years, John Ley, pastor of Great Budworth, in Cheshire, took no unworthy part, presenting the Puritan view with candour and ability. He had the advice of Archbishop Ussher in the compilation of his work, entitled "Sunday a Sabbath," published in 1641.

The Puritans had not only to contend with the opposition of the pleasure-loving, but with the stern refusal of those who out-heroded their masters, and logically insisted that real Sabbatarianism meant the observance of the seventh and not of the first day. Of this temper were John Traske and his wife. She lay in prison for fifteen years "for keeping the Jewish Sabbath "and for working on the Lord's Day." Persons of this way of thinking were scattered up and down the country, and being made of good, honest, fanatical stuff, were proof against reproach and persecution.†

Erasmus tells us that there were some Bohemian Sabbatarians so strict in their observance of the law, that if anything flew into their eye on the seventh day, they would not remove it until the morrow.

The Grindletonians, although strict Puritans, were anti-sabbatarian in their views, and held that Sunday "was to be observed

* *Autobiography of Martindale*, Chetham Soc., p. 123. † Cox i., 431.

"merely as a lecture day." Their founder was Rodger Brierley, a native of Rochdale, who died at Burnley in 1637, but whose ministry was at Grindleton, in Craven. He was imprisoned at York, but released, and had a renewed license to preach from Bishop Tobias Matthews.*

George Fox was no sabbatarian. He moved about the country preaching his new doctrines, reproving sinners, and exhorting rich and poor to the due performance of their duty. His religion was of a very practical kind, and he laid small stress upon accuracy of belief that did not involve rightness in life. He was the very incarnation of plain speaking, and went right to the heart of things. To take the hat off in honour of a fellow-creature seemed to him a species of idolatry. So he refused to render "hat honour" to any one, and addressed "thee" and "thou" alike to high and low. He refused to take oaths of any kind. He refused to bear arms or pay tithes. This plain, honest, sober-living countryman, who had no awe of dignities before him, was to be a trouble and a stumbling block to the authorities. There was no common ground between them. He held the witness of the Spirit to be higher than the ruling of the law or the letter of the Scripture. Authority he set at nought, for he felt that he had the certain word of the Lord to deliver his fellow-men. So he went into courts of law and exhorted the judges to act justly, he bade the publicans not make men drunk, he declaimed against May games and feasts, he stood in the market-place and denounced the frauds of the hucksters, he cried out against mountebanks and music, he exhorted schoolmasters and heads of families to bring up the children committed to them in the fear of the Lord. But that which chiefly excited his indignation was what he calls the black earthy spirit of the priests. The church bell had no sweet sound for his ears, but "was just like a market "bell to gather people together, that the priest might expose his "wares to sale." In 1652, he came to Newton-in-Cartmel, where the clergyman did not relish his unasked-for assistance in preaching at the chapel. In consequence, a rude multitude seized Fox—

* *Assheton's Journal*, p. 95.

guilty of the reformer's usual crime of zeal out of season—haled him from the church, and finally threw him headlong over a stone wall.

The Quakers found it convenient to assemble for worship on the Sunday, but were careful to show that they entertained no superstitious reverence for the day over the other portions of the week. On the 9th of June, 1634, two Quakers came into the church at Acton, with a lantern and candles, whilst the Puritan vicar was preaching. Their design was to light the sheet of paper as a sign of God's anger burning against the nation.*

With the Restoration came a different order of affairs. The Cavaliers who at Breda, in April, 1660, had seen the Duke of York, the Duke of Gloucester, and the Princess of Orange play at ninepens on the Sunday, whilst the King, their brother, looked on, were not likely to sympathize with the Puritan severity of Sabbath observance.†

With reference to the Sabbatarian legislation of that most religious King, Charles II., Buckle observes:—"There are a "great many laws in this reign for the observance of Sunday, or, "as it was ignorantly called, the Sabbath. This could not "proceed from Charles, but is an evidence of the existence of "the puritanical element."‡ One evidence of the interest in the question is the fact that in 1668 there appeared, from the painful pen of John Wells, a nonconformist pastor, a work entitled "The Practical Sabbatarian." No less than 787 pages were devoted to a minute and tedious enforcement of the saddest-coloured observance of the Sunday. The only things to enliven the tremendous dulness of the work are the grotesque narratives of judgments on Sabbath-breakers. One of these is of an unlucky vintner, who was carried away by a whirlwind and never seen any more!

Roger Lowe, a puritanically-inclined tradesman of Ashton-in-Makerfield, in his diary records on Sundays being measured for clothes, many visits to friends and to the alehouse, where he was

* Barlow's *Cheshire*, p. 188. † *Cavalier's Note Book*, p. 249.
‡ Mis. Works, iii., 639.

sometimes "merry;" much sweethearting, much chapel-going; meditations in fields, where he occasionally repeats the sermon. One extract from Roger's diary will give us a picture of a Sunday funeral in 1666:—"December 16. I went to the funeral of Ann Taylor, "who was married to Ralph Ashton in Abram, and I went "fasting from home; so at noon, when we had buried the corpse, "and expected according to custom to have some refreshment,— "and were a company of neighbours sat together round about a "table: as John Potter, Tho. Harrison, and others,—the Doctor "comes and prohibits the filling of any drink till after prayers; "so I came home with Thomas Harrison, and we expected to "have called at Newton,—but here we were disappointed. But "at last, with much vexation, I got to Ashton with a hungry "belly; and honest Thomas Harrison and right true-hearted "Ellen the hasty yet all love, did much refresh my hungry palate "with a big cup half full, and after that half full again, of good "pottage."*

The Lancashire folk were fond of amusement then as now. A man who exhibited a dromedary in 1662, told Mr. Blundell of Crosby that he found more profit there than in any other county. John Butler the mountebank bore the same testimony.†

The superstitious fear of judgments was, however, still fed by such publications as "A letter from a gentleman in Manchester "to a friend, concerning a notorious blasphemer, who died in "despair, &c." It is stated to be "Licens'd January 25th, "1694." It thus commences:—"Sir,—At Downham, near "Clitheroe, in Lancashire, there lived one T. B. (the full of his "name, for his surviving relations' sake, is concealed), about "thirty-six years of age, well known in that town, at his death "especially by the office he then bore of churchwarden. This "miserable creature, notwithstanding the good education which "his better parents had bestowed upon him, had for a great "while indulged himself in an excess of wickedness, but chiefly "in a sacrilegious abuse of the Lord's-day, on which he would "use any unlawful exercises. Nor did his office restrain him

* *Lowe's Diary*, Leigh, 1877. † *Cavalier's Note Book*, p. 97.

"from committing this abomination, but as if he (who should "have been first in punishing) prided himself in being the "ringleader of the Sabbath-breakers, he would, not only privately "and at home, but in the very open streets, revel and sport on "that holy day. For this, and his other provocations, it pleased "God so to leave him to the devil and himself, that he became "guilty of such horrid blasphemy as procured (it is to be feared) "his ruin in both worlds. The manner of it take thus." We need not recount the blasphemy, which is stated to have been uttered "on the 26th day of August, 1694, being the Lord's-day "(the day of his sinful excess)," and the account then states that "That night he was struck with much sadness and sighing, "which grew upon him every day more than other for that whole "week, in which he kept much upon the bed, very listless to "speak, or indeed to take any notice of worldly concerns." The account describes his great agony and frightful cries, and terrible aspect, and concludes in the following terms:—"Thus "he continued crying out to the great amazement and terror of "all the company, all that day, and part of the night; and the "next day he was speechless. And upon Friday, the 7th of "September, 1694, he expired in the morning. His body, for "several hours after his death, sweating very apparently. And thus "have I made you this fearful relation, after which I shall but "add my hearty prayers for ourselves, and for all whose ears are "made to tingle with this dreadful report, that we may be "preserved continually by the Grace of God, from profaning "his holy day; and above all, from villifying the glorious person "of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to forewarn men of the "horrid danger whereof this miserable wretch seems to be set "up, by divine providence, a terrible and speaking monument.— "Dear Sir, yours most affectionately.—Manchester, January 3rd, "1694." It may be as well to state that January 3, 1694, was some four months after September 1694, the year commencing in March.

The diary of Peter Walkden, the nonconformist minister of Hesketh Lane, shows him to have been frequently in the habit of

"refreshing" in the neighbouring public house, both before and after the time of service, in company with members of his family and congregation. One entry is worth transcribing:—"Brother "Miller being to enquire after the effects of one old John Miller, "a travelling Scot, who died but a few weeks ago at one Widow "Hall's in Shire-lane, near Hurst's Green, and I being to preach "to-morrow for Mr. Burgess, at Darwen, and brother not knowing "the way to Shire-lane, I went with him to it, and we alighted at "Widow Hall's and had account of the old man's death and "effects thus, viz.: That the old man was found ill in the lane "on Friday, and was taken in by some neighbours into the "widow's; that he was paralytic, and insensible all that night; "that he continued so most of Saturday; that a neighbour took "out of his pocket what moneys he had, and in the sight of "several witnesses counted it, and found he had 10s. in silver "and 1d. in brass; that on the Lord's Day he was sensible and "asked for his budget, and told 'em he had silver, but whose he "told not; that he desired earnestly to be at a lodging house of "his, near Great Mearley; that they offered to procure him horse "and man to conduct him thither, but he refused it on the "Lord's Day, saying he would see what to-morrow would "produce; that a neighbour offered to send for a priest or a "vicar to him, both of which he refused, signifying to 'em that he "was a Presbyterian; that on Monday he died; that the overseer "and constable, one Adam Thompson, took on 'em to bury him; "prized what he had in goods, silver and clothes, to something "above £3; that the constable procured him a handsome coffin; "that he fetched the rathes from Mitton, and he and the overseer, "with horses, went to Mitton and buried him."

At the Episcopal Chapel, Garstang, in 1776, it was customary to have communion service on the Saturday; not however from any seventh-day sabbatarianism, but because the curate had to be at the parish church on regular communion days.

It was by the zeal of Beilby Porteous, then Bishop of Chester, that the celebrated Lord's Day Act of 1781 was passed. It did not arise out of the circumstances of his great diocese in

Lancashire and Cheshire, but from a desire to free London of some novel institutions, which to the episcopal mind appeared alarming. Several meeting-places had been opened in the metropolis, where theological and moral questions were open for debate by the company assembled. Admission was obtained by payment at the door, and very probably a good deal of nonsense was spouted at these Sunday debating societies; but it has never been shown that they had the slightest injurious tendency. An attempt to have put them down would probably have been unsuccessful, if the bishop had not hit upon the device—more ingenious than candid—of coupling them with an institution of a very different character. This was the Carlisle House Promenade, which was also, open on Sunday evenings,—nominally for refreshments, walking about, and conversation—but really as a gathering ground for improper persons of both sexes. This clever episcopal device was successful, and notwithstanding opposition in both Houses of Parliament, all places used for "public entertainment "or amusement, or for publicly debating upon any subject what-"soever upon any part of the Lord's Day called Sunday, and to "which persons shall be admitted by payment of money, or by "tickets sold for money shall be deemed a disorderly house or "place." The keeper was subject to a fine of £200 for every day it was open, the managers to a penalty of £100, and the doorkeepers to a mulct of £50. The chief opponents of this stupid piece of legislation were John Wilkes and the Duke of Manchester. It is still on the statute book, and though generally a dead letter, is occasionally revived by sabbatarian fanatics for the hindrance of some educational institution. Porteous, in a sermon preached before the king, lamented the existence of gaming houses frequented on the Sunday, the "numerous and "splendid assemblies" on that day in the mansions of the aristocracy, and the "pernicious amusements" admitted even into private families. He lacked the courage and honesty to attack the excesses of the rich, but was valiant enough against what he styled, "strange extravagancies in the lower classes of the people." It is only just to Porteous to say, that if he did not, with equal-

handed justice, invoke the law against the rich as well as the poor, he expostulated with them on the profanation of the day. In 1805, when Bishop of London, he wrote letters of expostulation to three ladies of rank who had given musical entertainments on the evening of the first day.

The excesses of the French Revolution produced a great impression in England, and the abrogation of the Sunday gave a handle to the Sabbatarians, of which they were not slow to avail themselves. Southey has pointed out the curious fact that William Tindal, the translator of the Bible, had written these words :— "As for the Sabbath, we be lords of the Sabbath, and may yet "change it into Monday, or any other day as we see need ; or we "may make every tenth day holy day only, if we see cause why." Thus the French National Convention, who substituted a tenth for a seventh day of rest, might have quoted a precedent in the words of a founder of the English reformed church.

During the last century, although the Sabbath controversy did not rage with the intensity of a preceding age, there can be no doubt that a sombre observance of church and chapel going was the ideal ; but that human nature was unable to endure this strong dose of sanctified gloom is evident from the laments over Sabbath-breaking. If the village green was no longer the scene of archery and athletic diversions, the village alehouse had no lack of customers. The denunciation of judgments in this world, and of penal fires in the next, were not strong enough to restrain men.

In many cases the old ecclesiastical festivals were still observed. Eccles wakes began on Sunday, and up to the beginning of the present century were distinguished by much coarse festivity, in which bear-baiting, bull-baiting, and smock-racing had a part. At Gorton the wakes ended on a Sunday, on which day the morrice dancers attended the chapel, when an "appropriate sermon" was preached.*

It was in Eccles that the members of the earliest recorded of the artizan botanical societies were in the habit of assembling upon the Sunday evening. In 1777, it had forty members engaged in this pursuit of knowledge under difficulties, and similar societies

* Higson's *Gorton*, p. 111.

appear to have been popular in many of the South Lancashire towns and villages. The danger in their path was, that as no other building was available, the meetings were perforce held in the public house, which offered temptations to excess not always resisted by these sons of science. The botanical societies have rendered good service to science, and after more than a century's existence, show no signs of general decay. Perhaps the oldest existing society is the Manchester Botanists' Association, which has met uninterruptedly for about fifty years.

Burke has observed that "lawful enjoyment is the surest way "to prevent unlawful gratification." The sports and pastimes of the people may be gathered from the printed instructions issued in 1797 to the Manchester division of constables. The police were informed that alehouse keepers were liable to forfeiture of their licences unless they fully observed the following recognisances:—"The conditions of these recognisances are such that "whereas the above bound alehouse keepers have severally "licensed to sell ale for one whole year, from the 29th day of this "present month of September, in the houses wherein they now "respectively dwell. Now, if they, or any of them, their, or any "of their assigns, or any other person or persons selling ale by "virtue of the above licences, shall neglect or fail to keep and "maintain good order and rule, or suffer any unlawful games to "be used, or disorders to be committed in his, her, or their "dwelling-house or houses, or any outhouse, garden, yard, or "backside thereto, during the said term; or shall permit or suffer "any mountebank, quack doctor, or unlicensed showman to per-"form or exhibit upon his, her, or their premises during the said "term of his, her, or their license; or shall permit or suffer any "bull-baiting or horse-racing upon his, her, or their premises "during the said term of his, her, or their license; or shall permit "or suffer any person or persons to drink or tipple in his, her, or "their house on the Lord's Day; or shall permit or suffer any "person or persons to continue drinking in his, her, or their "house or premises after the hour of nine o'clock at night from "Michaelmas to Lady Day, or after the hour of ten at night from "Lady Day to Michaelmas; or if any of them, or any of their

" assigns, shall suffer or permit any club or society at their respec-
" tive houses, either for money, cloth, household goods, clocks,
" watches, or any sort of household furniture ; that then, and in
" any of the said cases, the recognisance or recognisances of such
" alehouse keeper so misbehaving or offending, and of his, her,
" or their surety or sureties, shall be in full force and virtue ; but
" the recognisance of all the said other alehouse keepers, and
" their respective sureties, shall be void and of none effect."

That some at least of the publicans strove to keep good order must be admitted. Dr. Whitaker, the historian of Whalley, wrote the following epitaph for a model publican :—

Here lies the Body of
John Wigglesworth,
More than fifty years he was the
principal Innkeeper in this Town.
Withstanding the temptations of that dangerous calling he
maintained good order in his
House, kept the Sabbath day Holy,
frequented the Public Worship
with his Family, induced his guests
to do the same, and regularly
partook of the Holy Communion.
He was also bountiful to the Poor,
in private as well as in public,
and by the blessing of Providence
on a long life so spent died
possessed of competent Wealth,
Febr. 28, 1813,
aged 77 years.

The last quarter of the eighteenth century witnessed the rise of Sunday Schools, which nowhere received greater extension than in Lancashire and Cheshire. Mr. Adam Crompton, the paper maker of Little Lever, some years before the beginning of Raikes' experiment in Gloucester, employed an old man known as Jimmy o'th' Hey, to teach the poor children in the neighbourhood on the Sundays. James Heys, like the Gloucester teachers, received payment for his trouble, and it might be argued that the real inventors of the modern Sunday School system were those who devised a machinery of unpaid teachers. When, in 1785, the Wesleyan Methodists of Oldham were anxious to establish a Sunday School, the project was on the point of being abandoned on the ground of expense, as they were chiefly operatives. Mr. Samuel Scholes, of Higher Moor, made this suggestion :—" Lads,

"I'll tell you what we must do; we must each of us find a "teacher; we must all come and try what we can do; and if "you'll do so we can have a Sunday School." This homely and sensible remark led to the foundation of the school at the Old Chapel, Bent Brow.

Abraham Watmough, in 1821, published at Rochdale a poem on the Sunday School, in which he probably represents the feeling of the evangelical and methodistical part of the community. The country walks of the lads and lasses, and their after refreshment at the inn, are hinted at as the prolific source of vice. A youth who, in spite of parental appeals (in very indifferent blank verse), persists in a Sunday walk, comes to grief by falling over the rocks :—

> . . . . . on the ocean shore,
> Beneath a cliff he lay where ravens croak;
> Who sunk their beaks carnivorous, deep, and tore
> His eyeballs from their sockets, bar'd his bones,
> And gnaw'd his liver—emblem of those pains
> Beyond the grave heap'd up for guilty sons.

Mr. Watmough was an enemy of oratorios, balls, and novels. "Perdition seize the page that stains our sons." It is needless to add that he is intensely Sabbatarian. "Ought it ever to be "forgotten," he asks, "that it was on a Sunday evening and at "an opera, that the Duke de Berri so suddenly met his fate?" His sole interest in Sunday Schools is as places for the teaching of dogma, and he considers the sanctity of the Lord's day to be violated by the teaching of writing. The proposal to teach arithmetic is branded as profanation. This perverse sentiment is only now disappearing in some sections of the community.

The mistaken views of certain of the Puritans, for some of their noblest spirits were free from them, left an impress on religious thought, on legislation, and on social customs, which is only fading away and giving place to more reasonable sentiments. The opening of the public libraries of Manchester and Wigan on the first day of the week, are evidences that in the present day it is felt that the "Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the "Sabbath," and that there is no harm, but great good, in calling in the aid of art and knowledge as handmaids of true and practical religion.

GRAPPENHALL PARISH CHURCH.

THE ARCHITECTURAL ANTIQUITIES OF THE PARISH CHURCH OF ST. WILFRID, GRAPPENHALL, CO. CHESTER.

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INTRODUCTION.

CATHEDRALS and Parish Churches are the most wide-spread and most perfect examples of English mediæval architecture. The series is unbroken, from the rude Romanesque of the 11th century to the debased Perpendicular of the 16th, and affords numerous illustrations of the variety and the beauty of Gothic form. Although their fittings and decoration have been destroyed or transformed by the reaction against an older ceremonial, and the requirements of congregational worship, the fabric in the majority of cases remains the same; sometimes its harmony of proportion and unity of style proving it to be the conception of one mind; more often in its complexity of parts and confusion of styles exhibiting the various stages of its development, according to the needs of the worshippers or the generosity of the patron.

Scattered throughout the land, in every town and village, it is round the parish churches that the varied incidents of municipal custom, village life, local history, and family tradition centre. As the parish in its temporal aspect is the unit from which the organization of the country, both constitutional and political, has developed,—as the assembly of freemen which transacted its business on the village green in front of the parish church, often perhaps within its very walls, was the school in which our ancestors learnt the benefits of political liberty, afterwards to be concen-

trated in the chapter house of the Abbey of Westminster;—so the parish church, the centre of these germs of life and liberty, unchanged when all around has changed so much, is regarded, not only because of its religious associations, but from the ecclesiastical and political institutions of which it is the material representative, with feelings of the deepest reverence. To the rural population of England the parish church is the type of that intricate double system of the English government, that happy amalgamation of the spiritual and temporal powers, which, resting on the past, is the chief guarantee of religious stability in the future. And apart from this more national interest, is that personal attachment of the parishioners to the spot on which their forefathers have worshipped from the earliest establishment of Christianity; to the font, and to the churchyard adjoining, in which generations after generations have successively been baptized and buried.

These associations, national, local, and personal, are, in themselves, sufficient to stimulate an enquiry into the history of the parish churches of England. Delay is becoming more fatal year by year: the rapid changes resulting from a desire for improvement; the restorations so necessary for the ultimate preservation of these monuments of antiquity, yet so destructive to the more important details; the gradual fading away of parish registers, or their disappearance from other and more regretable causes; and the loss of family documents, by the ravages of fire, mould, and vermin, render the materials from which such a history may be written of ever increasing scarcity.

Cathedral and monastic records, family documents, and the evidence of architectural style, are the chief sources from which the history of a parish church may be composed; but valuable information may be gained by inferences drawn from the movements of general history, the progress of political and commercial liberty, and the consequent increase in wealth, or from changes in the patronage of the church. These and many other events may, by analogy with modern times, or by analogy with contemporaneous facts, supply many a gap in the local records.

Thus the further the study is pursued, the larger will be the sources from which to infer; and this accumulation of evidence renders the subject of antiquities of the parish churches of England a very important branch of its topographical history, and one to which the smallest contribution may be of some use for future historians.

I.—Early History of the Church and Parish.

The parish church of St. Wilfrid, Grappenhall, affords a complete illustration of the above remarks. The element of uncertainty in its history is not eliminated, but is minimized to a far greater extent than is the case in the majority of village churches.

Situated at the head of the village street, it occupies the chief position in the parish; and if no assembly of freemen any longer be held on the village green, the space in front of the church, although small, is still there, and in part occupied by the modern house of assembly, the "village public." This again, by its sign, the arms of a former neighbouring landowner (the Earl of Barrymore), throws some light upon those early days of English history, when the need of protection forced the free-holders of England to become the vassals of the baronage.

The history of the fabric is to be gathered from actual remains recently discovered, from allusions in contemporary documents, and from inferences drawn from general history. In the fourteenth century its development is noted by a charter dated 1334, referring to the foundation of a chantry chapel, portions of which are still to be seen. In the sixteenth century a date exists on the fabric itself, which affords the most certain information; and it is upon these two dates, 1334 and 1539, that the truth of the history depends.

The church may be described in general terms as a Late Perpendicular building, consisting of a western tower, nave, with north and south aisles, and a chancel, incorporating the remains of an ancient Romanesque church and a chantry of the Decorated style.

There is some doubt as to whether the remains of Romanesque work belong to the eleventh or twelfth century; and if to the eleventh, whether to the earlier or Anglo-Saxon period, or to that subsequent to the Norman Conquest. Before proceeding with an account of the church, it will be well to investigate, if possible, the grounds on which this question must ultimately rest.

1. The existence of the remains of a rude corbel table, of early character, now in the interior of the south aisle, and of the font discovered during the restoration of 1873, are incontrovertible proofs of the early foundation of the church; and this is supported by the mention of a certain Robert, who was parson of Grappenhall in 1189, and wrote and witnessed a charter of Alan de Boidele while Ralph Mainwaring was justice of Chester.* But although this implies the existence of a church in the latter half of the 12th, it allows of no inference as to the period of the erection of the fabric. For this, in the absence of documentary evidence, we must depend almost wholly upon the architectural features of the corbel table and font, and both these might very well be classed as early Norman, whether of the close of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th century.

2. From the rudeness of the font, however, and from the dedication of the church to St. Wilfrid, a pre-Norman or Anglo-Saxon origin has been claimed for the first erection of a church at Grappenhall; nor is this a matter important in its bearing upon the history of this church alone, for these two facts have been referred to in support of the supposed Anglo-Saxon foundation of another church in the same county.† The sculpture on the font is said to resemble the character of Saxon work, and the sketches in the "Benedictional of St. Æthelwold," an illuminated MS. of the close of the 10th century. From the dedication to St. Wilfrid of York it is inferred that the church was founded when the works of that popular saint, who was bishop of the Mercians at Lichfield during the last decade of the 7th century, were still fresh in the minds of the people.

* Sir Thomas Mainwaring's *Legitimacy of Amicia*, p. 12.

† Northenden Church. *East Cheshire: Past and Present.* J. P. Earwaker, M.A. London, 1877, vol. i., p. 270.

The font, although rude in its ornamentation, will scarcely of itself give support to the Anglo-Saxon theory. The arches sculptured round it certainly do not claim any great artistic merit, but this may quite as likely be caused by the inferiority of workmanship as by the earliness of its date.* In a remote village such as Grappenhall, it is probable that the works were carried on by village masons, and the Grappenhall font is of a character which might well refer it to such an origin. In the *Illustrations of Baptismal Fonts*,† there are many examples regarded by the author as Norman, whose shape and dimensions are almost identical with the one under consideration, and some even exhibit the shallow carving which characterizes it. The font of Gillingham Church, Kent, though differing in shape, being circular instead of oblong, is ornamented with the same shallow arcade work; but underneath the arches is a bold chevron moulding, the boldness of which would seem to place the font in the 12th century.

Mr. J. H. Parker, in his *Introduction to the Study of Gothic Architecture*,‡ says:—"If the sculpture is early it is very rude, "and the work is shallow. But shallowness of carving depends "partly on the nature of the material to be carved; from this "cause buildings of a hard stone, such as granite, often appear "much older than they really are. Baptismal fonts especially are "frequently made of hard stone, or marble, which admit of "shallow sculpture; and rich Norman work, cut shallow, may be "found as late as the time of Henry II."

Little indeed can be inferred from the character of the sculpture on an early font to establish its age: that must depend rather on other inferences.

With regard to the dedication of the church to St. Wilfrid, it was rare for a church to be dedicated to a saint whose works were fresh in the memory of the people, although in some cases, such as in that of St. Thomas of Canterbury, where the publicity

* The font is engraved in the *Trans. of the Hist. Soc. Lanc. Chesh.*, vol. xxvi., p. 84.

† Published by the Cambridge Camden Society, 1844.

‡ Fourth edition, 1874, p. 53.

of his character, and more especially his martyrdom, brought him so rapidly into notice, an earlier celebrity, and frequent instances of dedication, may follow almost immediately after death. In this case, as will be shewn later, the dedication would rather favour a 12th century foundation.

These direct arguments, drawn from the font and the dedication, afford but a slender basis for the theory of the pre-Norman origin of the church. At the beginning of the 11th century there was a great revival of church building, after the passing of the dreaded millennium ; but at that time the want of peace and security in these parts would be disadvantageous to the erection of churches and chapels, so that the presumption would be against such a foundation until the establishment of order and good government under the hard rule of Hugh Lupus, to whom William granted the earldom with palatine rights in 1070.

3. The first recorded mention of Grappenhall is in the Domesday survey of 1086, but there is no reference to any church or priest.* This, however, is no proof in itself of the non-existence of a church or a priest in the place described by the Commission. According to Sir Henry Ellis,† no injunction was laid on the jurors to make a return of the churches ; any mention of them, therefore, was likely to be irregular. Several referred to in contemporary charters are not alluded to in the survey ; and the utter want of system is seen in the returns for Norfolk and Cambridgeshire, 243 occurring in the former, and one only in the latter county. Moreover, if it was the landed property of the clergy that was the object in view, it is not surprising that those churches and their incumbents should be omitted which did not possess any quantity of glebe ; or if, as a matter of private observation, churches without any land annexed might be often inserted in the return, others might be frequently left out as being thought of no consequence in the enquiry.‡ He con-

* Ormerod's *Hist. Cheshire.* Lond., 1819, Vol. I, p. 445.

† "General Introduction to Domesday Book." 1833. Vol. I, p. 286, &c.

‡ "Deare's Doubts and Conjectures concerning the reasons commonly assigned for inserting and omitting the word Ecclesia or Presbyter in Domesday Book." *Archæol. Soc. Antiq.*, Vol. VIII, p. 228, (apud Ellis.)

cludes by asserting that Domesday Book cannot be decisively appealed to for the non-existence of parish churches in the age in which it was compiled.

Although no direct evidence is to be obtained from Domesday as to the existence or non-existence of a church at Grappenhall, the following notices would seem to suggest an explanation of the omission of a church in this particular case. The neighbouring parish of Lymm was held in two moieties, one characterized by Ormerod* as the Warburton moiety, the other as the Domville moiety. The former was possessed, at the time of the survey, by Osbern Fitz Tesson, who was lord also of Grappenhall, as will appear from the following extract :—

"Isdem Osbernus (filius Tezzonis) tenet Lime; Edwardus "tenuit et liber homo fuit; Edwardus tenet de eo; . . . et "*dimidia ecclesia* cum presbytero, cum dimidia virgata terrae "quieta."

He also held one of the moieties of Warburton parish, but there is no reference to a church :—

"Isdem Osbernus (filius Tezzonis) tenet Wareburgetone . . . . "wasta fuit."†

The same omission occurs in the mention of Grappenhall, Appleton, and the third part of Dutton, all in the possession of Osbern Fitz Tezzon :—

"Isdem Osbernus tenet Gropenhole, et Edwardus de eo. . . . "wasta fuit."‡

"Isdem Osbernus tenet Epletune, wasta fuit, et est."§

"Isdem Osbernus (fil. Tez.) tenet Duntune, Edwardus tenuit, "liber homo fuit, Edwardus tenet de Osberno." ||

Thus we have mention made of a church at Lymm, the most central point of this portion of the Osbern property, and also of the condition of his holdings at Grappenhall and Appleton, both described as waste: there would seem to be some ground for inferring from this, independently of the actual omission itself, that there did not exist any Church at Grappenhall in 1086; that

* *Hist. Cheshire*, Vol. I, p. 434. † Ormerod's *Hist. Cheshire*, Vol. I, p. 426.
‡ Ormerod's *Hist. Cheshire*, Vol. I, p 445. § *Ibid*, p. 455. || *Ibid*, p. 482.

the parish, owing to previous disturbances, was "waste"; and that the few inhabitants either attended the church at Lymm, or, as is more likely, were served by the presbyter of Osbern's moiety of Lymm, who ministered in the outlying districts of Warburton, Grappenhall, and Appleton to the spiritual wants of his lord's vassals.

Nor does this hypothesis clash with any documentary evidence, but rather supports the testimony of Domesday, as far as this case is concerned; and it will be shown later that it is supported also by the character of the earliest remains found in the church. Before describing these, however, it will be well to refer to the fourth point in the early history of the church, the dedication to St. Wilfrid.

4. In the passage to which reference has been made above,* the dedication of Northenden Church to St. Wilfrid has been mentioned as affording some ground for a belief in its Saxon origin. Two other churches, besides those of Grappenhall and Northenden, are dedicated to St. Wilfrid in Cheshire—Davenham and Mobberley—and Mobberley has this in common with Grappenhall, that the wakes are held in the beginning of October.

The important dates in the hagiology of St. Wilfrid are Oct. 12, April 24, and Sunday after Lammas (Aug. 1.) According to the York Calendar, the Feast of the Deposition of St. Wilfrid was Oct. 12, and this day was generally observed as his festival, according to the Roman Martyrology and the Hereford Calendar. April 24 was considered the Feast of the Translation; and at Ripon, on the Sunday after Lammas Day (August 1) called "Wilfrid Sunday," was celebrated the Festival of his Nativity.

It has been stated by Mr. Beamont, in some notes on Grappenhall parish, printed in the local newspaper,† that the orientation of churches was generally influenced by their dedication, and that they pointed eastward towards the particular portion of the horizon at which the sun rose on the festival of the patron saint: and he

* *East Cheshire*, by J. P. Earwaker, vol. i., p. 270.

† Which notes I have been enabled to see, through the kindness of the Rector of Grappenhall, the Rev. T. Greenall.

adds that the orientation of Grappenhall church does not suit the ordinary festival, Oct. 12, but rather the months of April and August, (April 15 and Aug. 29 are the dates he gives.) It would seem, therefore, that the festival of the patron saint intended by the founder to be celebrated, was the translation of his relics from Ripon to Canterbury by Archbishop Odo, on April 24, 958.

The reason why the wakes, or the old-established Festival of the Dedication, ordained to be observed in every parish in England at a council held at Oxford in 1222, were lately held in October, is explained by the fact that Henry VIII. enjoined that all wakes should be kept the first Sunday in October.

In the year 958* Archbishop Odo, finding the remains of St. Wilfrid in a neglected condition at Ripon, carried away the greater portion to the Cathedral of Canterbury, leaving only some few of his bones, that the neighbourhood in which he had lived should not be wholly deprived of his wonder-working relics. This translation was celebrated in a poem by Frithegode, printed in the Rolls Series, and based chiefly on the contemporary life of Eddi. Under the stone altar erected by Archbishop Odo they remained until the time of Lanfranc, who removed them when he began his work of rebuilding the cathedral, and set them apart in a shrine. Here it appears they remained some years, for Eadmer concludes by saying :—

"Verum cum post aliquot annos fratrum voluntas in eo con-
"sentiret, ut magis fixo loco clanderentur; sepulcrum eis in
"aquilonali parte altaris factum est, et in eo sunt quarto idus
"Octobris reverenter inclusae."†

This was probably written by Eadmer, the latest historian of St. Wilfrid, after the completion of "the glorious choir of Conrad" in 1110;‡ and would appear to afford some clue to the dedication of Grappenhall Church.

According to the editor of Eadmer's Life of St. Wilfrid, in the Rolls Series,§ the motive which prompted him to write was the

* *Historians of the Church and its Archbishops.* Rolls Series. Ed. Jas. Raine, vol. i., Pref., p. 43.

† *Hist. Ch. of Yk.*, i., p. 226. ‡ *Arch. Hist. Cant. Cath.* Prof. Willis, p. 16 *n.i.*

§ *Hist. Ch. of Yk.*, i., p. 43.

alleged translation of the relics from Ripon to York, about which there had been no little controversy. This is not the place to discuss that question, but the conclusions arrived at are, that the chief authority for the Translation is the statement by Odo himself, in the preface to the metrical life by Frithegode. In Eadmer's work, 150 years later, the next mention of it is found; but in his life of St. Oswald, he refers to the relics of another Wilfrid discovered by that bishop, and carried to Worcester: this however does not agree with the testimony of an earlier historian of St. Oswald, and it would appear that Eadmer was endeavouring to glorify the remains in the possession of the monks of Canterbury.

Nor did the quarrel cease, for in 1226 Archbishop Gray of York made a solemn translation of the relics of St. Wilfrid at Ripon, and has placed it on record that he found the body complete. With truth, therefore, did William of Malmesbury observe, a century earlier, "Lis inextricabilis inter Cantuarienses et "Eboracenses versatus; quia dicant Cantuarienses se Wilfridum "Seniorem habere; contra Eboracenses contendant hunc Juni-"orem* ab archiepiscopo Odone Cantium translatum." (P. 245, De Gestis Pontiff.)*

It is also stated in the "Preface" in the Rolls Series, that the possession of the bones of Wilfrid was used as an argument in favour of the supremacy of Canterbury over York.

All this would show that the deposition of the relics of St. Wilfrid, in the beginning of the 12th century, was not an event which would be done secretly, but would be heralded abroad throughout the whole breadth of the province of Canterbury, and would especially bring into notice the merits of the saint in the district where he had so long resided, *i.e.* in Mercia.

It is suggested, therefore, that if any argument can be based upon the dedication of Grappenhall Church to St. Wilfrid, it is that it was founded when the district around had become secure and prosperous, under the rule of Hugh Lupus (who died in 1107), and dedicated, on this the outskirts of the province, to that

* Wilfrid II., of York.

saint whose deposition had just taken place at Canterbury, and whose translation was then being made one of the strongest grounds for an assertion of supremacy over York. The settlement of the country, the religious ardour shown by the Norman barons throughout the land, the dedication to St. Wilfrid, the deposition of his relics, the publication of Eadmer's life, and even the negative testimony of the Domesday survey, would, on this hypothesis, all point to the early part of the 12th century as being the most likely date for the foundation of the original parish church at Grappenhall.

II.—The Architectural History of the Church.

The architectural remains favour this conclusion : the Norman remains consist of portions of the walls and the font.

On the north side, during the restoration of 1873, the foundations of the outer wall of the former church were discovered under the present piers, which were built upon it in the 16th century. On the south side, for some reason which will be examined afterwards in speaking of the 16th century fabric, the Norman wall, instead of being pulled down, was pierced by the arches and piers, those portions only being removed which were beneath the new arches. By this mode of extension any external ornamentation in the upper part of the wall would be preserved ; and thus it is by no means unusual to find corbel-tables, gurgoyles, and other decorations in the interior of the aisles of a church extended in this manner.* In the case of Grappenhall Church, it has handed down to modern times, protected from the destructive effects of the atmosphere, a very interesting corbel-table, with heads such as are often found in Norman work of the 12th century. This, more than the font, affords support to the hypothesis stated above, of the foundation of the church at the opening of the 12th century.

But the most curious relic of this early church is the baptismal font, which was discovered and rescued from destruction by

* Cuddesden Church, Oxon ; Dorchester Abbey Church, Oxon ; and St. Giles's, Oxford, may be referred to as instances of this manner of extension.

the rector of the parish, the Rev. Thomas Greenall, during the restoration in March, 1873. It was dug up from a depth of between three and four feet below the floor of the nave, and near the second pier from the west.

It is oblong in shape, and of the following dimensions :—

From end to end, outside.....	2 feet 7½ inches.
From side to side, outside ...	2 feet.
Height	1 foot 6 inches.
Depth of basin	10 inches.
From end to end, inside	1 foot 10½ inches.
From side to side, inside	1 foot 3 inches.

The material of which it is made is the red sandstone of the county ; and its ornamentation is very rude. This is no evidence of the pre-Norman origin of the church,, for the rudeness and irregularity of design of the majority of old village fonts is probably due to village masons, who worked roughly without rule or compass. This rude ornamentation consists of a series of semi-circular arches in shallow relief, which are continued unbroken round the corners of the font. These arches, which are of no uniform height, rest on piers with capitals and bases of early character, yet bearing a certain resemblance in their proportion to those in the crypt of Canterbury, of the early part of the 12th century ;* but the piers, instead of being perpendicular to the base of the font or parallel to one another, slope in every conceivable direction, thus enhancing the rude character of the work.

On comparing the dimensions of the Norman fonts illustrated and described in the work on Baptismal Fonts, already quoted, a remarkable uniformity exists amongst them, in their heights (exclusive of the base), and the depths of the basin ; as if, indeed, there were a recognised pattern for them as for other architectural details in the 12th century. And it is to be noticed here that in these two measurements Grappenhall font corresponds with the average dimensions of the Norman fonts in that work.

The oblong shape was not so common, or at least not so many

* Prof. Willis's *Arch. Hist, Cant. Cath.* Lond. 1845, p. 69.

remain as of the square or the round types; but it is not so singular in this as in the fact of the basin being also oblong. A square font of the Norman period has generally a round basin; but exceptions may be noted at St. Philip's, Bristol; Thornbury Church, Gloucestershire; and Locking Church, Somersetshire; all of them rather late in the style.

Such was the Grappenhall font as it left the hand of the local mason. At the present time there exists in the middle of each of the longer sides a hollow in the rim, due to the wrenching away of the staples to which the cover was fastened. This was in accordance with a constitution of Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1236, requiring all fonts to be covered and locked.* When these were removed at a later time,—in all probability at the Reformation or the Great Rebellion,—the font was damaged to a very serious extent, the heads of the arches in the sculptured arcade being in part broken.† This proves the font to have been in use not only in the 13th but also in the 16th century, and would preclude all suggestions which would tend to show that this Saxon font was buried during the troubles of the Danish invasions, and had remained undiscovered until the present day.

It is possible that the Parish Chest, now in the museum at Warrington, may also date back to the early part of the 12th century. It bears no comparison whatever with the earliest known specimens of the 13th century,‡ being of the rudest design. It is, in fact, merely a portion of the trunk of a tree, about 7 feet long and 1½ feet in diameter, cut longitudinally to form a lid a little short of the middle, the thickness of the lid being about a third of that of the base. Externally, it seems only to have been chopped smooth with an axe; internally, a cavity has been made of small dimensions, about 2 feet long, which would have contained little else than the vessels used at the altar and the few deeds which the church at that early time possessed. It is this rudeness and simplicity which would seem to argue its 12th

* *Concise Glossary of Architecture.* J. H. Parker, 4th ed., 1875, p. 119.

† The rim of the font of East Haddon Church, Northamptonshire, is broken in the same manner; but in that example the staple is still preserved on one side.

‡ *Conc. Gloss. of Arch.*, p. 63.

century origin, for in the 13th century a chest was, with all the modern force of the word, a chest, and not merely a hollow log of wood as that in the Warrington Museum.

Such are the sole remains of the earliest church of Grappenhall, and their character appears to add fresh support to the hypothesis already formed as to its origin. In no respect are they unlike the ruder examples of the Early Norman style, and until, therefore, direct evidence be forthcoming of the existence of a church at Grappenhall in Anglo-Saxon times, these remains may well be regarded as of the earlier years of the 12th century.

This church was probably of the type commonly found in the villages throughout England: it consisted of a nave without aisles, and a chancel, probably of one bay and apsidal, though of this there is no proof. It would be lighted by small round-headed windows, none of which have survived.

It was of this church that Robert, who is found writing and witnessing a charter of Alan de Boidale in 1189, was parson.*

In 1291, the church was valued in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV. at £5.

8 Ed. III. The next date of importance in the history of the church is 1334, when mention is made of a chantry founded by William Boydell, junior, in a charter which must be given in full, on account of its bearing on the architectural development of Grappenhall Church.

"Patent universis me Guillielmum Boydell, juniorem, conces-
"sisse ad inveniendum unum capellanum honestum in perpetuum
"divina celebrandum pro animabus Guillielmi Boydell patris mei
"et Nicolaæ matris meae ac animabus omnium fidelium de-
"functorum in capellâ de Gropenhale per dictum dominum
"Gulielmum patrem meum constructa. Et ad majorem hujus
"rei securitatem faciendam ego praedictus Gulielmus Boydell
"junior, super sanctam crucem in Ecclesia Collegiata sancti
"Johannis Cestriae in praesentia dicti domini Gulielmi patris
"mei, Gullielmi de Mulneton, Roberti de Hawardyn, et Henrici
"clerici juravi. Datum apud Cestriam 19 die Januar, 8 Ed. III,
"1334."*

* From original of Sir Peter Leicester's, in notes of Mr. Beamont.

Of which important charter this is the translation :—

"Be it known to all, that I William Boydell, junior, do agree "to find an honest chaplain to celebrate for ever the divine "mysteries for the souls of William Boydell my father and "Nicolaa my mother, and for the souls of all the faithful de- "parted, in the chapel of Gropenhale, built by the aforesaid "William my father. And for the better security of this matter, "I, William Boydell junior, have sworn on the Holy Cross, in "the Collegiate Church of St. John, in Chester, in the presence "of the aforesaid William my father, William de Mulneton, "Robert de Hawardyn, and Henry, clerk. Given at Chester, "19 Jan., 8 Ed. III, 1334."

This charter evidently implies the existence of a chantry chapel, which in the year given, 1334, had probably just been erected. This chapel, which was known as the Boydell chapel in the 16th century, when Randle Holme visited the church, exists now, though it has been completely incorporated and lost in the south aisle.

Its site is marked by the original decorated window, which is now the second from the east end of the aisle. It was probably thrown out from the Norman nave, and its size may be traced from the buttresses on either side of the window. These almost certainly show its extent, the east and west walls formerly adjoining them. This small portion of the old church of Grappenhall, which has survived the alterations of the 16th century, contains the purest specimens of the 14th century style of architecture : in quantity these relics are few, but in quality unequalled. They consist of the south window, which is still in situ (the second from the east end) and several fragments of stained glass, not so complete, unfortunately, as they were but a few years since. The present east window of the south aisle is an exact imitation of the one which formerly lighted the Boydell chapel on the east, and contains much of the stained glass which was in the original.

Both the windows had square heads, but that on the south side, being only of four lights, had more tracery in the head than the eastern window of five lights.

The remains of the Boydell glass are now placed in the east window, and the first window on the south, which was built in imitation of the southern "Boydell" window when the aisle was lengthened in 1850. In this latter there is now some good canopy work of Decorated character, but in a fragmentary condition, and the figures formerly beneath them have disappeared. It is in the east window of the Boydell chapel that the most beautiful remains are preserved: in the upper part, under five canopies, are represented St. Peter, with his emblematic keys; St. James, distinguished by his palmer's staff and scallop shell; St. Bartholomew, by the flaying knife and a skin hanging over his arm; St. Philip and St. Thomas. Below this series are the figures of St. Mary and St. John Baptist. The canopy work is very beautiful; the foliage and the crockets are most delicately outlined, and the tracery and buttresses so accurate that an imitation in stone would be almost as good as the original stonework of the 14th century.

Probably the best example of mediæval glass, however, in this church is the figure of a female saint. The colours employed on this figure are only golden yellow and brown. The accompanying woodcut, taken from an accurate coloured tracing by Mr. W. H. Rylands, F.S.A., gives an exact idea of the execution of the original. The golden yellow appears in the outer part of the nimbus, the hair, the embossed clasps of the mantle, and its cross-hatched edging next to the rows of pearls which ornament that garment. It is not clear what saint this figure represents.

In the three central lights in the lower series there were probably figures of a knight and his lady, kneeling and praying; and above them a shield, bearing Vert a cross patonce Or. These are sketched,

with notes attached, in Randle Holme's Church Notes—(Harl. MSS. 2151, fol. 78) viz. :—

"In Boydell's chapel, on the south side of the church, this "monument in glass and writing under it—"'Priez pur sire "'William Boydell et Nichol sa compagne sil vous plest.'"

It is not known when this interesting fragment, illustrating the origin of the chapel in so marked a manner, and probably inserted by William Boydell in 1334, disappeared from the church.

In the same manuscript of Randle Holme (I) (Harl. MSS. 2151) from which the above is copied, the following also occurs :—

"In severall places of the said church are these armes in the "windows." Then follow drawings of coats of arms, viz. :— (1) *Doncaster*, Argent a walled castle of five towers Gules, the courtyard of the first. (2) *Ince*, Argent three torteaux between two bendlets sable *(sic* for Gules*)*. (3) Quarterly first, Argent a tower triple towered Gules, for *Doncaster ;* second, Argent a lion rampant Gules (called *Leigh*, but probably *Redish) :* third, Azure [Argent] on a fesse sable [Vert] three mullets Argent [Or] for *Boydell* ; fourth, Vert a cross patonce Or, for *Boydell.*

These are interesting in connection with the family history of Grappenhall, but do not bear upon the chantry of 1334 : nor does Randle Holme say that they were in that part of the church.

In speaking of the Boydell Chapel, it will be well to make some remarks on the monumental effigy which has been lately restored, and removed from the Warrington museum to the north side of the chancel. It is the figure of a warrior recumbent, in chain armour with a plain surcoat, the head resting on a helm, cross-legged, the sword across the left side : on the left shoulder a shield, with its lower portion broken (?), and on a fesse three mullets pierced.

The arms of the Boydells of Dodleston and Grappenhall* were (*a*) Vert a cross patonce Or ; (*b*) Argent on a fesse engrailed (sometimes plain) Vert three mullets Or (*var.* Ar. on a fesse az. three

* Burke's *General Armory*, p. 110.

mullets Or, pierced Sa.) ; (*c*) Vert a cross clechée between four mullets Or.

The shield, therefore, would prove that the effigy is that of a Boydell, for although the colours are absent, the blazon corresponds with the variety of the second Boydell coat given above. The question immediately arises, which of the Boydells is it intended to commemorate? It is generally supposed to be the monumental effigy of Sir Wm. Fitz William le Boydell, knt., who died 1st Sept., 1272. He married Alice, daughter of Hugh de Dutton, and by her had a son, Sir John Boydell, knt., who succeeded him in the Grappenhall and Dodleston estates. Sir John married Margaret, daughter of Hugh Standish, and had three sons, John, Robert, and Sir William; the last-named married Nicolaa, sister of Richard Fitz William de Doncaster,* Rector of Grappenhall. According to this, therefore, the effigy would be in memory of Sir William Boydell, grandfather of the Sir William Boydell to whom the chantry was founded in 1334.

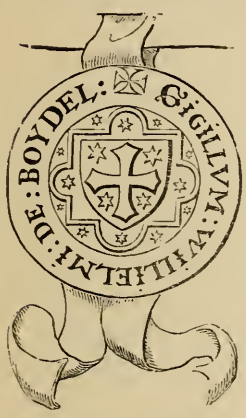
The first notice of this effigy is in Randle Holme's Church Notes (Harl. MSS. 2151, p. 78,) from which the annexed representation has been copied, with his accompanying notes. From these we gather that Holme regarded the monument as that of William Boydell, junior, who agreed to find a chantry priest in 1334.

There are several points in this sketch of Randle Holme which deserve remark. The first is the great difference existing between the sketch and the restored monument, although there is sufficient resemblance to render their identity certain. Randle Holme makes the hands on the breast folded in prayer, and the sword untouched on the right side; the restored monument has the left hand clutching the sheath, the right in the act of drawing the sword, which is lying on the left side. He represents the figure with the legs straight, and then, as if he had discovered his mistake, adds in a note that the legs

* This William of Doncaster was Mayor of Chester 1316—1318, and had for arms:—Ar. a castle with courtyard; Ar., a keep in chief, a gateway at base, and walls at the flanches, with five towers, all Gules. (Burke's *General Armory*.) This shield has been found at Grappenhall. (Randle Holme.)

are crossed. This last feature is generally considered as a token that the warrior had been on a crusade, although it appears that a vow or a desire to perform a journey to the Holy Land was accounted sufficient reason for the distinction: these were concluded towards the later part of the 13th century, so that the effigy can scarcely be that of the William Boydell, junior, who swore in the church of St. John's, Chester, to find a chaplain to pray for the soul of his father, in 1334; and this, moreover, is disproved by the shield on the arm of the effigy. Annexed to Ormerod's translation of William Boydell's oath, quoted from Sir Peter Leycester's History,* is a copy of the seal from a drawing given by Sir Peter Leycester from the Tabley MSS., c. 285.*

The annexed facsimile will show that the arms represented are probably meant for those marked *(c)* among the Boydell arms given above, *i.e.*, Vert, a cross clechée between four mullets Or.



An effigy, therefore, of this William Boydell, junior, who died 1354,† would have had these arms on the shield, so that his claims to the monument may be dismissed. It remains to be proved whether it was his father, grandfather, or any other ancestor.

From a comparison of the coat of arms on the monumental effigy, viz., on a fesse, three mullets pierced, with the shield represented in Randle Holme's MS. between the figures in stained glass of Sir William Boydell and Nicolaa his wife, the blazon of which is, Vert a cross patonce Or, it may be concluded that the knight whose monument has survived was not the founder of the chapel, the husband of Nicolaa de Doncaster.

Neither the William Boydell, junior, who swore to maintain a chantry priest, nor the William Boydell for whose soul this priest

* Ormerod's *Hist. Chesh.*, i., 445.

† In 1354, Howell ap Oweyn Voyl, the son of his sister and co-heiress Margaret, is mentioned as kinsman and heir of William, who succeeded to the estates c. 1334.

was to celebrate daily mass, are represented by this monumental effigy. To whom, then, was it placed in Grappenhall Church? On Randle Holme's authority alone do we know that it commemorated a William Boydell: it remains to identify him by information obtained from other sources.

Our sole authority for the date, "1st September, 1272," is Randle Holme, but on examination of his MSS., it will be found that the inscription has "Premer Septemb'r, 1572." What was his authority for the whole statement?

In the "Inquisitiones post mortem" of Edward I.'s reign, published by Mr. Roberts in his *Calendarium Genealogicum*, is the following passage, which is the most important of all the documents bearing on the Boydell family at the close of the 13th century :—

"5° Edw. I.

"2. Willielmus Boydel (in brevi 'Johannis filius Willielmi "Boydel") defunctus.

"Dicunt (juratores) per sacramentum suum quod Willielmus "de Boydel tenuit de Domino Rege in capite die quo obiit qua-"tuor feoda militum et dimidium. . . Item dicunt quod "Johannis filius ejus primogenitus propinquior haeres ejus est, et "quod fuit de aetate viginti unius annorum ad festam Purificationis "Beatae Mariae, scilicet, anno regni Regis Edwardi quinto.

"Cestr."

"5 Ed. I, 1277.

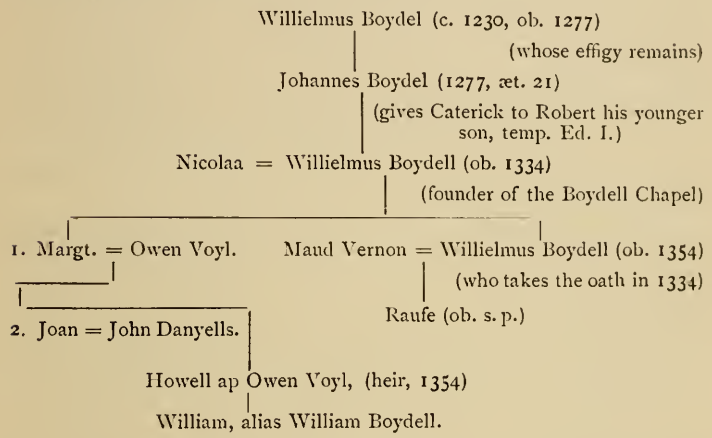
"William Boydel (in a brief of 'John, son of William Boydel') "deceased.

"The jurors affirm on their oath that William de Boydel held "from the Lord King in chief, on the day on which he died, four "knight's fees and a half. They affirm also that John, his first-"born son, is his next heir, and that he was aged 21 years on the "Feast of the Purification, viz., in the 5th year of King Edward I. (Feb. 2, 1276-7.) "Chester."

This document proves the death of a William Boydell in 1277, and the birth, in 1256, of John Boydell, the father of the founder

of the chantry, and the grandfather of William Boydell, junior, who swore to find the honest chaplain.

If, therefore, Randle Holme has the name William right, the effigy will be that of William Boydel, who died in 1277, and had by his marriage John, his eldest son, born in 1256. He himself may therefore have been born about 1230, so that it was quite possible he might have gone on one of the later crusades. The pedigree, as far as it relates to this portion of the history of Grappenhall Church, would seem to stand thus :—



This, then, would appear to be the true account of the effigy in Grappenhall, although documents may be existing which would throw further light on the subject. It may possibly have found a resting place in the chapel founded on the south by his grandson William; for William, junior, in the document already given, states that the "honest chaplain" is to pray for the souls not only of William, his father, and Nicolaa, his mother, but also "omnium "fidelium defunctorum in capella de Gropenhale per dictum "dominum Gulielmum patrem meum constructa."

But if this monument be in memory of this William Boydell, what can be the explanation of Randle Holme's inscription?— "Hic jacet Willielmus le Boydell junior, . . Premer Sep- "temb'r, 1572."

The date is without doubt 1572, the figure 5 being identical with many other 5's in the same MS. Yet it may be suggested that 5 represented the archaic form for 2, which Randle Holme found some difficulty in imitating. This, however, is unlikely; for, in the first place, Randle Holme's sketching is very characteristic; and, a more weighty consideration than any other, the date, 1272, would not agree with that of the "Inquisitio post "mortem" of 5 Ed. I., which is an indisputable authority.

If, then, it be granted that the date is 1572, it is impossible to believe that the figure is one of the 16th century, as Holme would very well have known; for not only had the Boydells died out in the main branch, and the property descended through heiresses to the Reddish family of Caterich in this century, and later to the Merburies of Merbury; but the armour is sufficient to disprove this, for it probably represents the "banded mail" which was the fashion at the close of the 13th century.*

There can, therefore, be but one conclusion, pending the discovery of fresh material, which is, that Randle Holme has made some blunder,—or, if not a blunder, has acted so as to mislead those who have given him implicit confidence.

In the other part of the inscription he is also singular, for he has "Hic jacet Willielmus *le* Boydell junior." Nowhere in the Recognisance Rolls of Chester,† does it appear as "le Boydell," though "de Boydell" is a common form. Again, what was his authority for calling him Junior? It must be supposed that tradition told him that it was a monument to a *William* Boydell; and that, finding it in the chapel of the Boydells, he attributed it to him whose name appears most actively in the charter respecting the chantry and the chantry priest, 5 Ed. I. *He* was Willielmus Boydell Junior, and Holme, doubtless on some authority which he considered valid, filled in the inscription accordingly.

But the most difficult matter still remains unsettled; the date, "Premer Septemb'r, año 1572." There is little doubt, as will

* Hewitt's *Ancient Armour*, p. 260.

† 36th and 37th Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Parliamentary Records, 1875, 1876.

appear from the following remarks, that it is the date on which he paid his visit to the church !

Being himself ignorant of the date of William Boydell's decease, and knowing that no one would ever suppose that the monument belonged to the 16th century, for the sake of appearance he finished the inscription by putting in the date and the day of the month on which he was taking the notes ; and innocently, to complete the whole, in French instead of English.

This would appear the best apology for Randle Holme, and it is supported on these grounds :—In the first place, Ormerod refers to the MS., and quotes the former part of the inscription, but, without any comment, omits the latter part and the date, as if doubting its reference to Boydell. More than this, the MS. shows that in the year 1572 Randle Holme made his chief tour through Cheshire. Unfortunately, he does not give, in most cases, more than the year, but in a few he gives the exact date, and from these there would seem to be some clue to the solution of this matter, in favour of the suggestion stated above. By reference to the list of places visited*, it would seem possible to make a rough itinerary of his tour in 1572. Having made a long stay probably in the Northwich and Nantwich districts, commencing his notes at Wrenbury Church in January, 1572, he seems to have pushed on as far as Wilmslow eastward, leaving Mynshull and probably the Weaver Valley district early in August. He is then to be found in the same year in Bucklow Hundred, and in the north of Cheshire, at Norton, Halton, Runcorn. Having left Mynshull in August, he would reach this part in the beginning of September, and would then in all probability be returning to Chester. He accordingly is at Tarporley, and at Eccleston September 15, 1572. With these dates (Mynshull, August 4th, and Eccleston, September 15th,) it does not seem extravagant to suppose that the "worthy Randle," as he is termed in the Catalogue of the Harleian MSS., paid a visit to Grappenhall Church

* Wrenbury (Jan.), Warton, Witton Chapel, Nantwich, Marbury, Wybenbury, Copenhall, Wistaston, Whitley, Mynshull (Aug. 4), Wlmslow, Dutton Hall, Marbury Hall, Norton Hall, Halton Hall, Daresbury, Runcorn, Tarporley, Eccleston (Sept. 15, 1572.)

on the 1st of September, 1572; nor would a fortnight be an incredible time for him to get to Eccleston, calling at the halls on his way.

On these grounds it is suggested that Holme found the effigy in the Boydell chapel, supposed it belonged to Willielmus Boydell, Junior, the founder of the chantry priest, and being ignorant of his decease, filled in the space with the day of the month and the year on which he visited Grappenhall and made his notes of the church. This explanation does not compromise Holme's character in the least, while it gives us the interesting occasion of his visit to Grappenhall, and allows us the freedom of identifying the relic with either of the three William Boydells about whom we know more or less from external evidence. From Holme, in a word, we conclude that tradition assigned it, in the 16th century, to a William Boydell, and from the character of the armour and the blazon of the shield we may regard it as highly probable (it is impossible to be absolutely certain) that it commemorates the William Boydell, deceased 5 Ed. I, 1277, for whose death and existence we have the indisputable authority of the "Inquisitiones post mortem," in the Public Record Office of England.

The Boydell chapel would in all probability be opened to the nave under one arch: and perhaps in the south wall, opposite the arch, under the window would be a canopy, under which reposed the remains of William Boydell, whose effigy may have been removed from the chancel on the foundation of the chantry. On the west side, there was an entrance from the outside, that the members of the family might have independent communication with the chapel. The present south door, which is decorated in character and is said to be an exact imitation of the previous one, was removed from its position on the west of the Boydell chantry, on the restoration of the 16th century.

During the 14th and 15th centuries Grappenhall Church appears to have remained untouched, a Norman structure of the early part of the 12th, with the Boydell chantry of 1334 attached to the south side of the nave.

In the early part of the 16th century there would seem to have been, by common consent, a restoration of the Cheshire churches. One of the most striking structures on the Welsh border, near Cheshire, is the great 16th century church at Wrexham; and in Cheshire itself it will be only necessary to recall the Late Perpendicular work at Northwich Church (Witton), Cheadle, which is known from documentary evidence to have been built or restored in 1529, Wilmslow, from 1490 to 1520, Northenden, Daresbury, and many others, to prove this statement. In Grappenhall Church, the date 1539 appears on one of the pillars, showing that at that time the works there were either in progress or completed.

An enquiry into the causes of this vigorous restoration would be extremely interesting, but could only be satisfactorily pursued by great facilities of reference to family documents of the time, and by general investigations extending over large areas, in order that some cause might be found applying either to the whole country or to some special district.

It may at least be taken for granted, that the churches rebuilt or restored were in an unsatisfactory condition at this period, a great number being probably the small structures erected after the settlement of the County Palatine in the last years of the 11th and the first years of the 12th century. Even if these were sound, they did not afford the light and accommodation which were then regarded as greater essentials to due order than at the time of their foundation.

Two causes favoured such work at that time. The first was the increase of commerce, the rise of the middle classes on the ruins of the old aristocracy, which had fallen in the Wars of the Roses; and with this increase of commerce, the wealth of the country would also develop very rapidly, and thus afford means for carrying on such work as the renovation of religious houses and churches. The clerical body were not slow in diverting a portion of this wealth into ecclesiastical channels, as appears from many wills referring to Cheshire.

The second cause was, in all probability, a revival of church

feeling amongst a portion of the laity. The early years of the 16th century were characterized by a vigorous struggle between the clergy and the laity; and although it is doubtful whether the full consequences of the Reformation, as they appear in modern times, were foreseen at the opening of the 16th century, yet it is certain that the position of the church was not so sure as it had been in past times. Commissions of enquiry into the condition of ecclesiastical foundations, though no new thing, were seen to be increasing in frequency and importance. Some were appointed even in Wolsey's time to enquire into the condition of the monastic institutions of England, and did not hesitate to suppress some houses whose discipline was a scandal to the church. Such an agitation, itself the result of predisposing tendencies to reform, and to enquiries into ecclesiastical matters, would considerably increase both the bitterness of the secular spirit and the devotion of the religious among the laity. During the years of an ecclesiastical struggle, as we find even in our own day, the contending parties devote themselves and their property with the greatest energy to the maintenance of their cause: and thus institutions, colleges, churches, spring up, which would otherwise have been unthought of: the abundance of wealth is diverted into a new channel by the strength of a new motive. Thus was it also in the early part of the 16th century. Whereas one part of the laity were crying out for reform, the other and the greater part became in proportion the stronger supporters of the clergy, and this support found expression in the work the clergy then thought fit to undertake, the restoration or erection of churches in accordance with the requirement of the times.

In the special case of Grappenhall Church, the date, 1539, may imply that some portion of the property belonging to the suppressed priory of Norton, which still claimed a "pensio" of 2s. from the parish, may have been employed in the rebuilding of the church. But this rests on the slenderest basis, for besides the fact that since the middle of the 15th century the presentations had been in the gift of the Birom family, and not of the priory, it is extremely uncertain to what period in the rebuilding of the

church the date belongs. Further than this, the Norton property seems to have remained in the possession of the crown for some years before it was granted to the Brooke family. This, however, is certain, that at the beginning of the 16th century, as we know from the style and the date, the parish church of Grappenhall was almost completely rebuilt.

Before examining the details of this 16th century church, it will be interesting to enquire in what manner the architect set about the restoration. There is no doubt that the intention was to work out an original plan, which should incorporate only such portions of the old church as were worth preserving, or would not clash with the new design.

There are two theories based on the date 1539, which may explain the progress of the work of restoration.

One is, that in 1539 the whole of the church was dismantled, the chancel and north wall destroyed, and only the south wall and Boydell chapel left intact. The western tower, north aisle, chancel, north arches and piers were then built; and because there was a wish to preserve the Boydell chapel on the south side, it was allowed to form the east end of the aisle, although in so doing the unity of the design was destroyed, and the south aisle rendered shorter than the north aisle. The buttresses and base-moulding, starting from the chapel, on the plan of those of the old Boydell chapel and at the same height, met those of the tower at a different level, forming a strong contrast to the unity of the junction on the north side of the church. Arches similar to those on the north were pierced through the south wall, to connect this aisle with the nave. The date at which all this was done was then placed at the west end of the nave on the southern pier. Against this view, however, it may be stated, that when they were dismantling the church, it would have been far simpler to have pulled down the south wall west of the chantry, and the west wall of the chantry itself, than to destroy the wall on one side and pierce it on the other; for we must at least suppose that the completion of one harmonious design was prevented by some vested

interests in the Boydell chantry, which prevented its utter annihilation.

The other theory is, that the date, 1539, refers only to the throwing out of the south aisle and the completion of the original plan of restoration, which had been hindered for about ten years. The greatest period of activity in the district was about 1520 and 1525; and in 1527 we find a new rector, Richard Gerard, presented to the living. It is possible that, under his auspices, the work was begun and proceeded rapidly in the portion immediately undertaken. On this theory, it is probable that the plans were drawn up; but, as funds were limited, only the chancel and nave were to be remodelled, the tower and north aisle to be added, and the south wall and Boydell chapel to be left untouched. This work completed, the church would be ready for use, and would remain in this state until more funds were forthcoming for the restoration of the south side. Whether certain moneys were secured on the dissolution of Norton Priory in 1536 or not, three years after, the west wall of the Boydell chapel was pulled down, the aisle extended westward, and the south wall of the Norman nave pierced: when this was finished and the aisle roofed and glazed, the wall between the piers and beneath the arches was knocked out and cleared away, without any suspension of the services, or inconvenience to the population. According to this view there is a rational explanation for the piercing of the wall, and fresh force is added to the date, as being that on which the original plans were finally carried out, and the new church completed.

The plan of the new church at Grappenhall consisted of a nave and chancel, with western tower, and north and south aisles to the nave: when complete it incorporated the Boydell chantry in the south aisle, and thus caused that to be somewhat shorter than the north aisle.

The *Tower* is the most prominent feature, and in its details forms the key to the work of the rest of the church. In its general character it resembles the towers of Daresbury, Cheadle, Wilmslow, and Witton churches. It is of good proportions,

surmounted with battlements, and originally perhaps with eight pinnacles; traces of these, or at least their foundations, may be seen at Grappenhall; in the tower of Wilmslow church, of almost identical character, one or two still remain. Their absence is in no way an eyesore, and perhaps adds to the massive appearance of the whole structure. The upper storey has a two-light window on each side, the mouldings of which correspond exactly with those of the door below and the other windows of the same date in the church; their chief element is a large shallow hollow, very typical of Late Perpendicular work. Below this storey is a bold stringcourse round the tower, which is ornamented on the west side by the figure of some animal "passant," perhaps the cat: whether this was the crest of some neighbouring landowner, who gave liberally towards the building of the tower, or the device of the architect or mason, or again, as has been suggested, a stone pun on the word "Caterich," a certain property in the parish, it is almost impossible to ascertain. A similar figure appears among the sculptures on the stringcourse of the tower of Witton church, Northwich. The west window of the tower is very good, and the best proportioned feature in the church. The west doorway is a good example of late work, and has a bold square label over it: its mouldings are identical with those of the windows. The buttresses are very bold and well proportioned to the mass of the tower; at the N.W. and S.W. corners they are diagonal, on the N.E. and S.E. at right angles to the north and south sides of the tower. The buttress at the N.E. corner is entire, the west wall of the north aisle being built against it, the straight joint appearing down to the foundations: on the south side the buttress has been cut away, and the wall of the aisle joins that of the tower. Round the buttresses and the walls of the tower is a very bold base-moulding, which may be traced also round a great part of the church, and gives the clue to that portion of the work which was carried out at the same time as the tower, probably about ten years before the date carved in the interior of the church.

The *North Aisle* claims attention next to the tower. Its sym-

metry is broken by the new vestry and the two arches, with central pillar, which now lead from it into the organ chamber. Its extent eastward is still marked by the large window *in situ* and the original base-moulding beneath. It has been said that this moulding is the key to those portions of the church which are of one date, and connect them intimately with the tower. Its junction with the tower is very singular; the wall of the aisle being narrower than the buttress, and being necessarily of one face inside, the N.W. angle of the buttress forms a slight projection; round this the moulding runs on to the wall and thence round all the buttresses of the north aisle, until broken by the new vestry. Although copied round this vestry, the original work appears again at the N.E. corner of the aisle, where the east wall has been extended northwards to form the new vestry; from this point it runs under the east window, and then on to the north wall of the chancel. The east and west windows of this aisle, and that to the east of the north door are of the original design, and possess the same mullions and the same mouldings as those in the tower. The east window, apart from its late character, of which it is an exceedingly good example, is one of the most artistic features of the exterior of the church, age having developed the most beautiful tints in the old red sandstone mullions. The north doorway, into which the base-moulding of the aisle sinks, starting again in the same line on the east side, is as perfect in character as the west, though small in its proportions; the mouldings are of the same type, the broad shallow element being conspicuous. The window of this aisle nearest the vestry is new, and differs to some extent from the other. Built into the east wall are a piscina and credence, which can scarcely be *in situ*, and may have been removed from the chancel.

In the interior this aisle opens into the nave by seven arches, of simple mouldings and good proportions, resting on piers of Late Perpendicular character, with capitals of shallow mouldings. These piers were found, during the restoration of 1873, to rest on the old north wall of the church, which was considered too solid a foundation to be destroyed.

The *Chancel* is merely a continuation of the nave, there being no visible mark of separation by chancel arch or screen: on the exterior the base moulding, which has been traced to the east wall of the north aisle, continues its course round the chancel to the junction of the south wall with the east wall of the south aisle. The present east window is new: the former one is now inserted in the north wall of the vestry, and although it is said that it was inserted in the chancel when dilapidations were being made good on the death of the Rev. P. Halsted, there is no proof that at that time the old window was removed but only repaired; so that it is possible that there is now preserved in the chancel, altered it may be, the original west window of the first quarter of the 16th century. During the late restorations the foundations of the original buttresses were discovered, and new ones erected on them; and this gives a much more finished appearance to the exterior of the chancel.

The *South Aisle* has been left till last, both because it was probably erected after the tower, north aisle, nave, and chancel had been completed, and because it presents several difficulties. It differs from the north aisle, in the irregularities caused by a desire, prompted probably by economy, perhaps also by some personal feeling on the part of the patron, to incorporate the Boydell chapel in the new aisle. For the sake of external uniformity, the buttresses and base-mouldings of the Boydell chapel had to serve as models for those in the new work to the west, and this would explain the reason why the base-moulding of the tower, so conspicuous in every other part of the church, ends abruptly when it touches the west wall of the south aisle. The junction of the east wall of the Boydell chapel and the south wall of the chancel has been lost since the extension of the aisle eastward in 1850. The two windows east of the south door are also somewhat different in character from those in the north aisle: although the mullions are the same, the heads of the lights are more depressed, and the windows altogether seem larger and later. They might well be taken for Jacobean, but as we know from the date that this particular part was thrown out in 1539, it

would seem correct to say that they are of that date, and that they differ only so much as might well be accounted for by the break in the plans, the want of freedom caused by the preservation of the chantry, and their erection some ten years later; and they would thus form an additional reason for regarding the second of the theories for the plan of the restoration of the church as the more probable. The character of the mullions, and their similarity to those of the tower and north aisle, is also in favour of this view; for though the character of mullions is usually no safe guide, when the same type is preserved throughout, as in Grappenhall church, inferences drawn from their resemblance may have some weight in determining the date of a questionable detail. The south door, which was completely restored in 1873, is of 14th century character, and probably formed the western entrance into the Boydell chantry. Such doors at the angle of the south wall of the nave or aisle, and the west wall of a chantry were not uncommon,* and rendered the chantry independent, in this respect, of the church. This doorway, on the demolition of the wall of the chantry, was preserved and inserted in the new south wall, opposite the doorway on the north side, doubtless for the sake of economy.

The great distinction between this and the north aisle lies in its connection with the nave: in the construction of the arches on the north, the whole of the wall of the Norman church was pulled down, and the piers built on its foundations: here, however, the wall was preserved, only so much being removed at the time as would allow the insertion of the stones forming the piers and arches. This certainly appears a strange feat, which would be attended with greater difficulties and danger than would be met with in wholly demolishing the wall and building the arches in the ordinary manner.

But when the convenience of such a course is taken into consideration, proficiency in the art of throwing out aisles, without any hindrances to the services in the church, would be cultivated by all architects, and would soon be regarded as the recognised

* There is one in the same position at Kidlington church, Oxon, about the same date.

mode of church extension. Without this presumption in favour of the piercing theory, as it is called, it is impossible on any other grounds satisfactorily to explain the existence of exterior features, corbel-tables, gurgoyles, and clerestory windows, above the arches and in the interior of the aisles of churches. Convenience and economy were alike in favour of such a mode of church extension, and traces of it are by no means rare throughout the country.*

That this was the method adopted at Grappenhall is clear from the remains of a Norman corbel-table between the arches: and together with the utilisation of the west door of the chantry, the difference of the windows, and the variance in height between the capitals on the north side and those on the south, tend to strengthen the second view stated above as to the restoration of the church, that the work is subsequent to that on the north, and that convenience and economy were the ruling principles in its construction.

Before leaving the subject of the glass, it must be said that there is a tradition which would shew that the glass of Grappenhall Church was the most famous in the neighbourhood, and that it was removed to York by one of the rectors of the last century.

III.—Alterations subsequent to the 16th Century.

Such was the church completed in 1539, the memorable year of the dissolution of the greater monasteries, the final blow to the hierarchic system of the middle ages; and with a few alterations it is the same to this day.

One change in connection with the tower and the south aisle was made in the 17th century. It has been already remarked that the S.E. buttress of the tower has been cut away in its lower part, and the aisle wall built right up against the wall of the tower. It is probable that some weakness shewed itself at that corner, and that it became necessary to rebuild the west wall. The west window of this aisle has different mullions from any other in

later portions of the church. Some clue to the date when these alterations took place appears on the inside of the wall: the letters I. R. are deeply cut into the stone work, and after the manner of modern times, they probably denote the initials of the churchwarden under whom the work was undertaken. A John Rycroft was warden ten times between 1617 and 1662,* and he was associated with Thomas Blakeburn in 1641. Their initials, I. R. T. B., are found, together with the date 1641, on the communion table now in the vestry; and it is probably to this man that the change in the west wall, the dormer window (which was removed when the walls were raised and the clerestory added), and the south porch may be attributed. Both the latter are swept away.

The revival of church life before the Civil War would sufficiently support the date 1641, when we find the chancel and the furniture of the church was renovated. It may equally have been done in 1628-9, 1633 or 1637, or possibly in 1662, to repair some injury committed during the years of the Rebellion, for J. Rycroft was warden in all these years.

No alterations seem to have been made during the Georgian period; and those of the last half century have had for their object the restoration of the church to its former condition, by the removal of the unsightly galleries, pulpits and pews, or the addition of such portions as were found necessary for the accommodation of a larger congregation

In 1833, under the auspices of the lay rector, Mr. Hall, the walls of the nave were raised, and the clerestory windows added: these are each of two lights, without foliations, and destitute of all character. Those at the extreme east end, one to the north, the other to the south of the chancel, were inserted during the restoration of 1873, and are in keeping with the east window.

In this work, the dormer window—which appears on a plate in the possession of the Rev. E. D. Garven, of Warrington, and

* Parish Records.

was made by Messrs. Flight and Barr, of Worcester, between 1813 and 1840, probably about 1825—was removed.

The alterations which have most improved the appearance of the church have all been carried out since the present rector, the Rev. Canon Greenall, came to the parish in 1848.

Two years afterwards, in 1850, he increased the accommodation by extending the south aisle eastward. In doing this the old east wall of the Boydell chantry was destroyed, and the east window re-inserted in the new wall: a new window was made in the wall to the east of the southern Boydell window, and in exact imitation of it. It is in this extension of the south aisle that the remains of the "Boydell" glass have been preserved, the original "Boydell" window being filled with new glass in 1879.

In the following year, 1851, the present vestry was thrown out northwards from the eastern extremity of the north aisle.

The improvements were completed during the last restoration in 1873. The roof of the chancel was raised, the walls strengthened, the buttresses rebuilt on their old foundations, and a new east window inserted. In the interior the level of the chancel was raised, and the raised portion was brought forward further into the nave, and fitted with stalls for the choir. The two clerestory windows at the east end, one on each side, were also built at this time.

The unsightly fittings were removed on the same occasion, and the church refitted in a manner far more becoming the essentials of Christian worship.

Such is, within a little, the architectural history of the Parish Church of St. Wilfrid, Grappenhall. Its foundation in Norman times, its development in the 14th century, its restoration in the 16th century, and, lastly, its reparation in our own times, form a good illustration of the history and architectural development of many of the village churches of England.

Before concluding this brief sketch of the history of this church, notice must be made of the Bells and the Register, which,

though not forming naturally any part of the architectural antiquities, are so interesting in their connection with the parish and church, that their omission would be unjustifiable.

The inscriptions and measurement of the six bells have been kindly drawn up by Mr. J. Paul Rylands, and are inserted here in full.

First Bell..... RS [*bell*] THO SUTTON THO MERREY CW 1718.

Second Bell ... [*coin*] 1700 [*coin, scroll, coin*] IOHN [*coin, scroll, coin*] BOARDMAN [*coin, scroll, coin*] RECTOR [*coin, scroll*].

Third Bell ... HENRICVS [*coin*] BAGLEY [*coin, scroll, coin*] NOS [*coin, scroll, coin*] FECIT [*coin, scroll, coin*] 1700 [*coin, scroll, coin*].

Fourth Bell... [*coin*] HENRICVS [*scroll, coin*] BAGLEY [*scroll*] OF [*scroll*] ECTON [*scroll*] NEARE [*scroll*] NORTHAMPTON [*scroll*] MADE [*coin*] MEE [*coin*] 1700.

Fifth Bell ... [*scroll, coin*] THOMAS [*scroll*] BLACKBURNE [*scroll*] AND [*scroll*] THOMAS [*scroll*] SVTTON [*coin*] CHVRCHWARDENS [*coin, scroll*] 1700.

Sixth Bell (Tenor) ... 1700 [*scroll*] I [*scroll*] TO [*scroll*] THE [*scroll*] CHVRCH [*scroll*] THE [*scroll*] LIVING [*scroll*] CALL [*scroll*] AND [*scroll*] TO [*scroll*] THE GRAVE [*scroll*] DOE [*scroll*] SVMMON [*scroll*] ALL [*scroll*].

First Bell.....	2ft. 1in.,	broad at bottom,	2ft. high.	
Second Bell ...	2ft. 4in.,	,,	,,	2ft. 3in. high.
Third Bell ...	2ft. 6in.,	,,	,,	2ft. 5in. ,,
Fourth Bell ...	2ft. 7¾in.,	,,	,,	2ft. 7¾in. ,,
Fifth Bell.....	2ft. 10in.,	,,	,,	2ft. 10in. ,,
Sixth Bell ...	3ft. 2in.,	,,	,,	3ft. 2in. ,,

The coins seem to be *casts* of half-crowns and shillings: they are corroded.

The Register dates from 1573, but the earlier part was copied by Robert Eaton, Parson of Grappenhall in 1600. The following is a facsimile of the opening lines, supplied by the present rector :—

A perfecte and true Copie of the Regester booke
of all Christnings, Weddings, and Burialls w^th^in the p'ishe of
Grappenhall sythens the xvj^th^ daye of Marche Anno Dñi 1573

vntill the firste daye of Maye Anno Dñi 1601 and soe forward accordinge to the order sett downe by the Canon agreed vpon in the laste Parliament holden at Westminst^{r} in the yere of o^{r} lorde god 1597. And in the yere of the Raigne of o^{r} Sowaigne Ladie Elizabeth the Queen's ma^{tie} that nowe ys Tricesimo Nono. Copied out of the original by Robt. Eaton m^{r} of Artes and pson of Grappenhall aforesaid in the yere of o^{r} lord god 1600. Henrye Sutton and Homfrey Smyth beinge Churchwardens y^{e} same yere.

[Copied line for line.]

Anno dñi. 1573 { Burialles. Anno dñi 1573 Marche: 1573.

Peter Shawe pson of Grappenhall was buried vpon Twesdie beinge the xvjth of Marche } xvjth

July 1621 { Buryalls Anno domini 1622. Robert Eaton m^{r} of arts and pson of this parish and of Moberley died the vjth of July 1621 at Moberley & was buried at Grappenhall the xiijth of the same moneth beinge of the age of 75 yeares wherof he had beene minister 51 yeares & Chaplaine to the honourable house of Derby 39 yeares and rector of this parish also 39 yeares. } xiijth

A complete list of the rectors of the parish, and copies of the monumental inscriptions, will be found in Ormerod's *Cheshire*, new edition, vol. i., p. 598, &c.

There is a notice of the Middlehurst Escutcheon in *Local Gleanings*, 8vo series, vol. i., p. 249.

Synopsis of the Dates in the History of St. Wilfrid's, Grappenhall.

c. 1120.—Erection of first church. Font and corbel table in south aisle alone remaining.

c. 1334.—Foundation of Boydell chantry. The second window from the east end, and glass in two east windows of south aisle, sole remnants.

c. 1525.—Restoration commenced. Chancel, north aisle, and tower erected.

1539.—Completion of original plan of restoration. South aisle thrown out, incorporating the Boydell chantry.

1641.—Church probably refitted. Dormer window and south porch added. Weakness remedied at west end of south aisle.

? 1833.—Roof raised and clerestory added. Dormer swept away.

1850.—Extension of south aisle eastward. Further obliteration of Boydell chantry.

1851.—Erection of north transept or vestry.

1873.—Thorough restoration of the whole church.

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c. 1120.—Probable date of parish chest.

1277.—Death of William Boydell. Probable date of monumental effigy.

1573.—Opening of the Registers.

1641.—Introduction of new communion table, now in vestry.

THE LIVERPOOL POTTERIES.

By Charles T. Gatty, F.S.A., Honorary Secretary.

(Read 24th March, 1881.)

THE history of the Liverpool potteries has been treated of twice before in the *Transactions* of this Society, and on both occasions by Mr. Mayer. Once in 1855 (see vol. vii. p. 178), and again in 1871 (see vol. xxiii. p. 47). Besides these papers of Mr. Mayer's, there is no other account of the local manufactures, and all large works upon Ceramic art have had to borrow their information about Liverpool wares from these sources. Since these accounts were published, however, years have gone by, and a certain amount of fresh information has been brought to light, and it is this new material which I am going to bring before you to-night, mingling it with what Mr. Mayer has already written.

The earliest records concerning pottery I have at present found are amongst the Municipal documents, and refer to brick-making. There is one in 1618, concerning the getting of marl on the common by one Mossock of Toxteth Park; and in 1693, an order occurs concerning brick-making, "that all persons allowed "to get marl to make bricks on the common, shall dig to the "bottom of the clay and marl, and make the ground level before "they carry off their bricks." A note amongst the Holt and Gregson MSS., in the Liverpool Free Public Library, vol. xvi. p. 206, probably in Gregson's writing, and expressed in a very confused manner, says—"To stone buildings (1660) there succeeded "in the 17th century brick and slate buildings in Liverpool. "To the brick-making succeeded the clay potteries; to them, "delf ware made of pipe clay and glazed with salt. The "clay was glazed with lead ore. To the delph ware succeeded "the whole flint or Queen's ware, in 1760, by Wedgwood. The

"clay potteries were carried on in various parts of the town "betwixt Down (?) and Feather (?) Streets, and opposite on the "other side Richmond Row, top of Brownlow Hill, &c., &c. "The delph ware every merchant in Liverpool of note was con- "cerned in, early in the eighteenth century. Dale Street, Shaw's "Brow, Hay Market, Brownlow Street, Pothouse Lane, Duke "Street, Cunliffe Street, Vernon's ditto, with glass houses, in "Mulases alias Molyneux—leading out of Dale Street—bottom "of Hanover and Campbell Streets."

Another extract from the Holt and Gregson MSS., in Gregson's writing, says :—"Formerly there were ten or more pothouses "in Liverpool: bottom of Richmond Row, top of Cunliffe "Street, a glass house. Two or three in Folly Lane, Shaw's "Brow, Goldney (?) (possibly Gillbody), Roscoe's; and then "below a china work . . . . . potthouse near Shaw's, "bottom of Shaw's Brow. One in Haymarket, Z. Barnes "(and others). Poole's, Dale Street; Duke Street. Top of "Brownlow Hill. Top of Blundell Street. Afterwards one at "Flint Street Every merchant was concerned in a pothouse "made of delf until 1785. Then about it was dropped. I had "a set at that time or in 1788 from Mr. Keyes. Then the flint "or Queen's ware succeeded. Then blue printed ware, which "was invented in black and red printing first, and transferred off "paper by Sadler, which laid the foundation of lythographic "printing."

Another extract in the same MSS., dated 1796, says :—"The "pottery trade was formerly the principal trade in Liverpool; "some little sail cloth, indeed, was manufactured. The pot houses "were—two on Shaw's Brow, one in Folly Lane, one in Hay- "market (Barne's) . . . . and Poole's in Dale Street, and "one . . . . Cross Hall Street potthouse (Morton); one "where the hotel stands; Duke Street potthouse; Park Lane "and Flint Street (Adams')."

Another extract in Gregson's writing in the same MSS., says :— "Pothouses in Liverpool.—On the spot where the hotel stands, "about the year 1758 or 1759. Top of Park Lane, Adamson's

"brewery. Shaw's Brow (Harvey or Hendry), Wilson's. Shaw's "Brow, Part and Pennington. Haymarket, Zachary Barnes. "Friendship Pothouse, Dale Street, next Chorley's. Poole's, "afterwards a brewery. Cross Hall Street (I think) Morton's "Soapery. Duke Street Potthouse. If not one about Cheapside "or Vernon Street. Last built one in Flint Street for flint ware, "by Okell and Co."

Another extract from the same MSS. gives the following information about pipe making in Liverpool :—"Pipe Makers.— "This seems at first sight a trifling business, and too insignificant "to be worthy of notice, but in every manufactury each part of "the business merits attention ; the only difficulty is to obtain "the necessary information. There are seven pipe manufacturies "in Liverpool, and about sixty men employed by the different "masters in this business, and about as many women, since every "labourer has a female to finish off. The men earn from "14s. 6d. to 24s. per week, according to their different abilities "and exertions, for all the work is done by the piece ; and the "women generally about 7s. per week each, the advance in wages "is about 6 to 10 in the space of thirty years. The clay from "which tobacco pipes are manufactured is brought in part from "Devonshire, and there is none nearer the town than Milford. "The best pipes, as are also the worst or lowest priced, are "manufactured here ; the best, of the length of 33 inches, and "as high as 25s. 6d. per gross. Besides home consumption, "tobacco pipes are articles of exportation to every part of the "world, but chiefly to Africa."

The next record of any importance to us is dated 16th October, 1643, and is the admission of Robert Lyon, *clay potter*, as a free burgher of the town. After this comes the date 1645, which occurs on a mug of delft-ware in possession of this Society, and formerly the property of Mr. William Everard. The mug has a landscape painted in blue on white ground, and is figured in our *Transactions*, vol. xxii., pl. op. p. 283. It bears the name John Williamson, and it has been conjectured that the mug was made at Shaw's pottery in Liverpool ; of this, however, there is no

positive evidence. It is no doubt *English* delft, but it may have been made at Lambeth or elsewhere. I do not know anything of the family history of the Everards previous to the middle of the 18th century, when Mr. William Everard, once the owner of this mug, lived in St. Paul's Square.

In the Municipal records, under date of 1663, there is an order "that the carts with mugs, &c., for export, shall not go through "the streets, but keep up the water-side." The meaning of this order is made clear by another, dated September, 1665, which states that all cartloads of mugs or earthenware coming into the town, which are very numerous, and "cutt out" the streets, shall pay 4d. toll. Again, on the 18th November, 1685, under the head of Pettie Tolls, there is—"For everie cartload of *muggs* or "*potts* retailed or lodged in towne, or putt on board anie shipp "by forreiners . . . sixpence. For everie cart, if the Potts "bee a freeman's, twopence." I think that these memoranda, and the one given by Mr. Mayer, dated 1674, referring to the port dues paid upon exported pottery, need have no connection with wares made in Liverpool, but may refer to those carted from Staffordshire and elsewhere, to Liverpool as the seaport. The expression "*coming into the town*" seems to bear this out. "The "export trade," says Mr. Mayer, "was considerable, as we learn "from the *Daily Pocket Journal* of 1754." In the registers of S. Nicholas' Parish Church is the baptism of Richard, son of James Atherton, pipe maker, dated 29th July, 1679. In the Municipal records, under the date 4th March, 1690, is the following entry:—"Richard Mercer a ffreeman of this Town, "being supposed to defraud it by countenancing and protecting "Muggs and pipes of strangers, as if they were really his own, "is to be inquired into, and taken notice of the next Qrt^er "Sessions."

At the commencement of the 18th century there are several important records. In 1701 Josiah Poole of Liverpool received permission from the Corporation to make tiles and pantyles and bricks from local clay, paying so much per 1000 to the Council: and in 1714 the "Lord Street Pot-house" was leased to Alderman

Jos. Poole, with a frontage of 23 yards and back of 52 yards. The site of this pothouse was the north-west corner of Whitechapel and Lord Street, now occupied by Messrs. Gillhams, the hatters. There is also a record that Mr. Poole undertook a glass house in 1715. In 1713 there is an order of the Council that Jon^{n} Dunbabin "fill up or fence about a pitt or clay hole he made "att the upper end of Edmund Street in a month's time on penalty "of 40^{d}." (?) In 1716, on March 7th, the Council gave an order that W. Hughes have liberty to get clay or marl within his field, for making sugar moulds or potts, and other kinds of "muggs," paying 2/6 per annum. In 1718 the Corporation granted a lease to George Walker and Jos. Mercer for house and pothouse at the end of Dale Street.

The foregoing memoranda are a proof of the establishment of regular clay getting and pot works in Liverpool, at the commencement of 1700. The following extracts from the parish registers will confirm this:—

Registers at S. Peter's.

1710, Feb. 17.	John, son of Thomas Gillinghurst, potter.
—— Feb. 18,	Edward, son of Samuel Leufe, potter.
1711, May 16.	Eliza, daughter of Jo^{n} Brightwell, potter.
1712, Mar. 19.	James, son of John Cherry, potter, Harrington Street.
—— July 28.	Sarah, daughter of John Holt, potter.
1714, Aug. 22.	John, son of John Holt, potter, Castle Hey.
1714, Dec. 17,	Elisha, son of Thomas Walls, potter.
—— Dec. 26.	John, son of William Baker, potter.
1715, Sep. 2.	Ann, daughter of Thomas Tillinghast, potter, Townsend.
—— Oct. 1.	John, son of John Holt, potter, near S. Peter's Church.
1717, Feb. 11.	Mary, daughter of Thomas Tillinghast, Dale Street, potter.
1720, Aug. 9.	Mary, daughter of Edward Weever, pot maker.
1722, Mar. 22.	Ann, daughter of Thomas Shaw, potter.
—— Aug. 26.	Eliza, daughter of Edmond Weaver, potter.
1725, June 7,	Daniel, son of Thomas Tillinor, pot maker.
—— July 22.	Mary, daughter of John Anderton, potter.
1726, Dec. 3.	Anne, daughter of Ralph Coventry, pot painter.
1727, April 21.	Sarah, daughter of John Williams, pot painter.

1727, Oct.	2.	Michael, son of Robert Thier, pot painter.
1729, Jan.	27.	John, son of Ralph Coventry, Lord Street, potter.
1729. Sep.	21.	Mary, daughter of George Hughson, pot painter.
1730, Aug.	19.	Christian, son of Geo. Evans, pot painter.
—— Oct.	16.	John, son of John Anderton, pot turner.
—— Oct.	20.	Henry, son of Henry Heyes, pot painter.
1732, Sep.	18.	Mary, daughter of John Baxter, pot painter.
1734, Mar.	18.	James, son of Thomas Shaw, potter.
1734.		Richard Williamson, potter.
1736.		James Weaver, potter, Dale Street.
——		John Garner, potter, Lord street.
—— Aug.	20.	Thomas, son of Thomas Shaw, Dale Street, potter.
—— Sep.	25.	Hannah, daughter of Samuel Gillbody, Lord Street, potter
1737.		John Trowers, Shaw's Hill, potter.

I am indebted to the Rev. Thomas Gibson for the following extract from his paper upon the Diary of Nicholas Blundell:— "Amongst the few objects of interest which Liverpool possessed "at that period must be included the white metul mug shop, "which, he tells us, was in 1720 at the end of Dale Street. The "diarist takes his friends to see it, and makes occasional pur- "chases. It was existing in 1712, as appears from the following "entry:—'1712, April 23, I went with Molly (his daughter) to "'ye whit-mettle Hous and bought a Punch Bowl &c.' On one "occasion he bought an ornamental jug, but broke it before he "got home."

In a list of the persons who polled during a parliamentary election in 1734, the following names occur of persons described as *potters*:—John Anderton, John Baxter, Thomas Crane, George Evans, Sam. Gillbody, Geo. Huson, Christopher Lucas, William Nicholson, James Shaw, Thomas Shaw, Henry Smith, Thomas Tillinghurst, Ed. Weaver, James Weaver, John Williams, Ditto, junior. In the same list, under the heading "Old Freemen," are the following potters:—Ralph Coventry, John Dunbabin, Henry Heyes, Stephen Nicols, Robert Thyer, Richard Williamson.

Amongst the Corporation leases is one dated 2nd May, 1753, from William Rowe, who owned a mill adjoining Islington, to

Richard Hillary, John Atkinson, James Gibson, Samuel Kenyon, and James Roscoe, described as merchants and partners, in which it is stipulated that they should have the mill for the use of their new pothouse in Dale Street, and considerations are granted to them as they had built a new brick colour mill.

Another advertisement from the *Liverpool Advertiser*, dated 18th June, 1756, is given by Mr. Mayer. "The Proprietors of "the Mould Works, near the Infirmary, Liverpool, acquaint the "public that they continue to make all sorts of sugar moulds "and drips, chimney moulds, large jars for water, black mugs of "sizes, crucibles and melting pots for silversmiths, founders, &c., "and sell them on same terms as from Prescot, Sutton, and other "places. Direct to the Proprietors of the Mould Works, "Woods and Co."

In the *Liverpool Advertiser* for 16th March, 1759, a curious description is given of one of the local potters, quaint enough to bear reprinting. "On Saturday, the 10th instant, Mr. Henry "Wainwright, of this town, potter, who was possessed of every "virtue that can illustrate or render the human being amiable; "and behaved, according to that station of life in which Provi- "dence had placed him, with the most decent and becoming "propriety; he was an affectionately dutiful son, a kind, loving "and obliging brother, an endearing relation, a sincere friend, a "most valuable and very engaging member of society, steadily "industrious, which enabled him to be liberal, without profuse- "ness; beneficent, without ostentation; conferring favours with "cheerfulness and alacrity, which ever encreaseth an obligation; "of manners so gentle and easy, his behaviour so inoffensive, "that *(Quistalia fando temperet a lachrymis)* his most intimate and "familiar acquaintance cannot recollect to have ever seen him "ruffled with passion; his conversation so strict (I may say, so "elegantly innocent) that he was never heard to utter an expression "that was either loose, profane, or even ludicrous" !!

In the list of voters during the parliamentary election of 1761, the names of about 117 Liverpool potters appear, amongst which are—Richard Chaffers, Thomas Coventry, Ralph Coventry

Ralph Coventry, Robert Coventry, James Gibson, James Pennington, Ralph Pennington, John Pennington, James Rigby, John Roscowe, James Roscowe, Samuel Shaw.

In a collection of papers referring to the same election, published by John Sadler in 1761, there is a song, entitled "The "Honest Freeman for Sir William a Plumper;" to be sung to the tune of "Die an Old Maid." The last verse runs thus :—

> Come then, honest Freeman, at Liberty's call,
> For Sir William, a Plumper, let's vote one and all,
> Let those who wou'd cheat us of Liberty, see
> We're Plump for Sir William, to prove we are free.

Another song, date 4th March, 1761, concludes—

> Charge your glasses, each Freeman, I insist on a bumper,
> Sir William's the word—Now, or never a Plumper.
> Derry down, &c.

Amongst the same papers a mechanic speaks of turning "Plumper "for Merriday," and of this "Plumping Merriday," which indicates that the phrase was a familiar one. For a salt-glaze mug, evidently of this date, inscribed *Ser William a Plumper*, see No. 36. During the same election, among the many addresses issued for and against the candidates by various persons, a plasterer and slater, under the name of Nehemiah Lath, asks the potters whether Sir William Meredith is not so fine a gentleman, that he might think his table disgraced by having any *Liverpool ware* upon it. On a delft mug, believed to be Liverpool ware, and in the possession of Mr. Culm of Chester, is the name William Rowland, and the date 1763. There is an advertisement in the *Liverpool Advertiser* for 11th February, 1757, of an 8vo pamphlet which is proposed for printing, entitled "Secrets in "Art and Nature," by Thomas Lawrenson, engraver, and published by R. Williamson of Liverpool. In this advertisement, chapter 4 is said to contain "The new and curious art of printing "or rather reprinting, from copperplate prints, upon porclane, "enammel, and earthenware, as lately practised at Chelsea, "Birmingham, &c." I have not been able to hear of a copy of this pamphlet, and possibly it was never issued.

Another advertisement in the same paper says—"To be sold "for ready money, a parcel of lead ore for potters' use, at "£8 : 10 : 0 per ton, apply to Mr. Rd. Powell, merchant in Water "Street."

In Gore's *Liverpool Directory* for 1766 the following potters appear:—

William Ball, china maker, Ranelagh Street.
Richard Chaffers and Co., china makers, Shaw's Brow.
Philip Christian, potter, Lord Street.
James Cotter and Co., potters, Haymarket.
George Drinkwater and Co., potters, Duke Street.
John Dunbibin, potter, Shaw's Brow.
Fred. Fisher, potter, Harrington Street.
Samuel Poole, potter, Dale Street.
Roberts, Berry and Co., potters, Dale Street.
John Roscoe, potter, Shaw's Brow.
Sadler and Green, printed ware manufactory, Harrington Street.
William Stringfellow, enameller, Park Lane.
Richard Thwaites, potter, Park Lane.
Robert Tyrer, potter, Shaw's Brow.
Robert Willcock and Co., potters, Park Lane.
John Williams, potter, Shaw's Brow.
Charles Woods and Co., mug makers, Shaw's Brow.

In the *Liverpool Advertiser* for 1767 the following notices occur. Amongst the deaths—March 6th, 1767, "Mrs. Lead-"beater, wife of Mr. Thomas Leadbeater, potter;" and on April 24th, 1767, "Mrs. Williams, wife of Mr. John Williams, "potter." And on August 28th, 1767, "Married on Wednesday "last, Mr. Samuel Kenyon, potter, to Mrs. Daniell, both of this "town." In the same paper for 14th October, 1768, is the marriage of "Mr. Wm. Rimmer, enameller." On 28th Jan., 1768, is announced the death of Mr. Thomas Hunter, potter, on Shaw's Brow. The following advertisement appears in the *Liverpool Advertiser* for 25th February, 1768. "Pot Ware—To be sold, "any quantity suitable to purchasers, at the Pot House, late of "John Dunbibin and John Lathom, bankrupts, on Shaw's Brow, "in Liverpool; with a considerable discount or abatement for "prompt payment. Enquire of Messrs. Thomas Davies, Joseph

" Brooks, and Jonathan Brooks, assignees of the estate and effects " of the said bankrupts."

In the *Liverpool Advertiser* for 27th January, 1769, amongst the questions announced for discussion by the " Conversation " Club," at St. George's Coffee House, is the following :—" What " are the real causes of the decline of the Potters' business in " this town, and by what means might it be made to flourish ? " In Gore's *Directory* for 1769, the following names of potters occur :—

Wm. Ball, china maker, Ranelagh Street.
Richard Berry, potter, Cleveland Square.
Philip Christian and Co., potters, Shaw's Brow.
James Cotter and Co., ditto, Haymarket.
Geo. Drinkwater and Co., ditto, Duke Street.
John Dunbibin and Co., ditto, Shaw's Brow.
Daniel Dunbibin, potter, Haymarket.
Fred. Fisher, ditto, Harrington Street.
Lawrence Harrison, potter and victualler, Williamson Street.
Wm. Hesketh, potter, Dale Street.
James Pennington, china works, Park Lane.
Sam. Poole, potter, Dale Street.
Roberts, Berry and Co., potters, Dale Street.
John Roscoe, potter, Shaw's Brow.
Sadler and Green, printed ware manufactory, Harrington Street.
Samuel Shaw, potter, Dale Street.
Robt. Thwaites, ditto, Park Lane.
John Williams, ditto, Shaw's Brow.

In the *Liverpool Advertiser* for 29th October, 1773, the following advertisement occurs, though I do not know to which pottery it refers. " To be sold, the assignment of a term in a lease " (14 years whereof are unexpired) of a valuable established " Pottery, conveniently situated on the south side of the town of " Liverpool, together with the stock-in-trade, consisting of several " materials necessary for carry on the said business : As also a " large assortment of cream colour or queen's earthenware, " manufactured at the said work, which is now carried on in great " perfection, and a set of workmen and customers fixed. Such " persons as are desirous of treating for the same are requested to " apply to Mr. J. Okill in Liverpool. N.B.—There are a few

"apprentices to the said business, who have considerable part of "their time to serve, which may be assigned over to any pur- "chaser."

Sites of the Potteries.

Amongst the Mayer MSS. is an old plan of Liverpool, dated by Sir James Picton at about 1760, upon which are marked the sites of the various potteries. This plan gives the sites of all the potteries known, excepting that in Lord Street. Besides this large plan, there are also a number of small plans, first draughts of surveys of the various pot works, most of which were drawn up by John Eyes for the Corporation. From these plans, and from the records of the Municipal leases, I have, with the kind assistance of Mr. Turton and several other of the officials in the Surveyor's and Leasing Department, been able to identify the exact sites of all these potteries. As I do not know the respective dates at which the potteries commenced work, I shall take them in arbitrary order.

The Lord Street Pottery.

From the Corporation records this property is shewn to have been leased to Alderman Josiah Poole as a pot house in 1714, and to have occupied 23 yards frontage and 52 yards back, at north-west corner of Lord Street and Whitechapel. Site now occupied by Messrs. Gillhams, hatters. In 1748 the property was described as a pot house and buildings, and leased to Ireland Green, Mary Green, Thomas Seel, Robert Thyer, and Michael Harold. The following advertisement appears in Williamson's *Liverpool Advertiser*, for 21st April, 1758:—"Wanted for the "Lord Street Pot House, a person of sober good character, that "will undertake to instruct the painters, and manage the burning "of the kiln: by applying to the clerk of the house, any such "person may know further particulars and receive proper en- "couragement." In 1776 the property was leased to Thomas Dobb, but neither in this lease nor in any other subsequent one is it described as a pot house.

Dale Street Potteries.

There were three potteries in Dale Street, two on the left hand side, going east, and one on the right. The most westerly one on the left side stood at the east corner of North Street and Dale Street, the frontage extending about half way to Trueman Street, and the property running back more than half way to Great Crosshall Street, Of this pottery I know nothing as to who worked it.

The next works, going east, occupied a frontage extending from Fontenoy Street nearly to Trueman Street. Chorley Court was not then in existence. There is a plan of this pottery amongst the Mayer MSS. It is there given a frontage to Dale Street of 94 feet, and seems to have extended back about 434 feet. It is called "Yard, Mill, Garden, Pot House, and several dwelling "houses belonging to Mr. John Chorley, Tanner." The plan is dated 1774. This pottery Mr. Mayer identifies as Alderman Thomas Shaw's. On the site is still standing the old residence of Thomas Shaw, now No. 149, Dale Street. This house stands between Chorley Court and Fontenoy Street.

The third Dale Street pottery stood at the east corner of Dale Street and Preston Street, with a frontage of 14 yards to Dale Street. A small plan of this amongst the Mayer MSS. is called "Ground bo^{t} by R^{d} Hillary and Company of the Crosshall "Pot House, 4th Aug^{t}, 1756." On the back of the plan is, "Plan of R^{d} Hillary & Co. ground bo^{t} from Esq. Cross in Dale "Street."

Pottery on Patrick's Hill.

Another pot work stood on Patrick's Hill, at the east corner of Smithfield Street and Tithebarn Street. In the Mayer MSS. there are two plans of this pottery. The first is dated 1750, and is called "A Plan of the Pott House on Patrick's Hill sold by "Richard Gildart, Esq., to John Dunbavan and Co., Dec., 1750." The second plan gives no additional information as to these works. The following advertisement appears in Williamson's *Liverpool Advertiser* for 31st October, 1760—"Thomas Deare

"and Company humbly beg leave to acquaint the public, that "they have opened their warehouse, commonly known by the "name of Patrick's Hill Pot House, and are now making all "sorts of the best blue and white earthenware; where all com- "mands will be punctually observed and gratefully acknowledged "by, gentlemen, your humble servants."

Pottery in Scotland Place.

Another pottery stood at the north corner of Richmond Row and Scotland Place. Of this there are two plans in the Mayer MSS. The first is called "Messrs. Livesley's Mug Works, near "the Dog Kennels, 1779." This plan gives careful details of the works, the position of the kilns, &c. The other plan is of "Mr. Ralph Lewis's ground in the road to S. Anne's Church, as "planned on his lease, August, 1781." In Gore's *Directory* for 1777, Livesley, Cotter and Co. are given as potters in 24, Haymarket.

Potteries on Shaw's Brow.

The first pottery going east up the Brow, now William Brown Street, was situated on a spot now covered by the western end of the front and terrace of the William Brown Museum. From the Municipal plans and deeds we learn that the pottery had a frontage of 90 feet. Also, that the original lessees were John and Samuel Livesley, who in 1747 mortgaged the property, Richard Chaffers and Co. being their tenants. In 1756 the following advertisement of Chaffers' pottery appears in Williamson's *Liverpool Advertiser*, December 10th, 1756. "Chaffers "and Co., China Manufactury. The porcelain, or china ware, "made by Messrs. Richard Chaffers and Co., is sold nowhere in "the town, but at their manufactory on Shaw's Brow; considerable "abatement for exportation, and to all wholesale dealers. N.B.— "All the ware is proved with boiling water before it is exposed "for sale." Amongst the Mayer MSS. is a small plan of a road through Messrs. Knight and Co.'s field to Richard Chaffers' Pot House Mill. 20th December, 1764. This mill was approached from the east side of Lime Street up what is now

Skelhorne Street. Richard Chaffers and Co. appear in Gore's *Directory* for 1766 as potters on Shaw's Brow, but in 1769 the name does not appear, although the pepper box bearing Chaffers' name, in the Mayer Museum, is dated 1769. A deed dated 2nd July, 1785, describes this property as the china works and dwelling house assigned to Messrs. Part and Pennington. From this it is clear that between 1769 and 1785 Richard Chaffers and Co. gave up the pot works to Messrs. Part and Pennington. In 1788 Pennington and Part mortgaged the property for £500, and in 1810, a deed speaks of their partnership as having been *some time dissolved.*

The next frontage going east up Shaw's Brow was another pottery, and extended for nearly 100 feet above Pennington's. It was handed over in 1714 by Alderman George Tyrer to Samuel Gillbody and Thomas Morris. Tyrer is described as merchant, and Gillbody and Morris as brick makers. In the list of voters in 1734 Samuel Gillbody is styled "potter." In 1737, a deed between Mrs. Margaret Livesley and Mr. Samuel Gillbody, for a parcel of ground in *Downdscroft*, at the bottom of Dale Street, describes Gillbody as a "dealer in white earthenware." In 1745 Gillbody mortgaged the pot house for £450. In 1762 Gillbody was dead, and the widow and executors then mortgaged the property to Mr. Lightbody. The executors were Thomas Shaw, gentleman; Ralph Coventry, clay potter; and Gillbody's son, Samuel Gillbody, who is called a "china factorer." In a deed dated 1762, concerning the winding up of Gillbody's estate, it is curious that a windmill is referred to, on the estate, which was used for "the grinding of colours," and which was *usually occupied with the pot house.* From this deed we learn that the pot house was then released to Messrs. Joseph and Jonathan Brooks for £610. Amongst the papers connected with this property is a will of a Mr. Sherlock, dated 1760, in which "blue "and white plates and punchbowls" are mentioned. In 1802, the premises were used for a soap and candle factory.

The next frontage, going east up Shaw's Brow, was a pottery which seems to have had a frontage of 70 feet. It was sold by

Mr. John Douse, husbandman, to James Shaw, gentleman, in 1724. A memorandum on one of the deeds states that the Douse family are buried there, in the garden at the back! One of the Douse family gave this land to a Mrs. Berkenhead, a daughter of James Shaw (the garden I should suppose) on condition that she should not build on it. Mrs. Berkenhead willed the property away in 1761, and it is then described as a dwelling house and three small dwelling houses adjoining to her pot house, and six small dwelling houses in her pot house yard. The deed also says—"Together with the said pot house and those two mes-"suages in the respective possessions of Mr. Jno. Roscoe and "Mr. Jno. Rigby." It would appear from subsequent deeds, that John Roscoe rented the property of Mary Berkenhead, and that it was no longer a pottery after 1785, at any rate, and possibly at an earlier date. In 1785 it is called simply a dwelling house, with barns, stables, orchard, &c. John and James Roscoe and James Rigby, appear as *potters* in the poll list of 1761. John Roscoe, potter, Shaw's Brow, appears in Gore's *Directory* for 1766, and James Rigby is also there as having a mug warehouse in the Old Dock. In Gore for 1769 John Roscoe is still potter on Shaw's Brow, and in Gore for 1774 John Roscoe is styled "mug dealer," 23, Redcross Street. The name does not occur in Gore for 1780, but John Roscoe, potter (without address), a son possibly of the preceding, appears in the List of Voters for 1790. It would seem, then, that Roscoe and Rigby worked this pottery between 1761 and some uncertain date between 1769 and 1774.

Between this pottery and the next on Shaw's Brow there appears to have been an interval of about 70 yards. The site of this next pottery was of a long narrow shape, with a frontage into Shaw's Brow of about 50 yards, and going back a great distance, nearly 200 yards, across to the north side of Hunter Street. It occupied nearly all the ground now covered by the Walker Art Gallery, and nearly the whole extent of Mill Lane. Concerning the owners or occupiers of this pottery, I have at present been able to obtain no information. Possibly this was

Philip Christian's pottery. Christian Street, which is just above, was called after him, and Mr. Mayer describes the position of Christian's pottery as on the site of Islington Terrace.

Potteries in Islington.

Going further up the hill into what was once Folly Lane, and is now called Islington, we come to a pottery that stood on the left hand side, and occupied a plot of ground about midway between S. Anne Street and Soho Street. In a plan of John Eyes', dated 1765, at the Municipal Offices, the mug works in Folly Lane are placed on a plot surrounded by Mrs. Lydia Gildart's land. This property in 1687 was held by Robert Seacome, under lease from the Corporation. The lease was renewed to Elizabeth Seacome in 1704. In 1743 the lease was renewed to Thomas Shaw, and is described as—"Two small "inclosures on the north side the highway from Dale Street end to "Derby Chappel, one on the east and the other on the west side of "Rowell's House, being 1 rood and ½." The lease was again renewed in 1769, March 11th, and the property is called two encloses on north side Folly Lane, bounded east by a road leading out of said road to other fields of lessee called Gorsey Fields, and west by another road leading out of Folly Lane to said Gorsey Fields. In 1787, July 16th, the lease was renewed to Richard Gerard, Esq., and is described as—"China works "and garden, north side Folly Lane, front and back severally "147 yards, depth, end and two sides, 25 yards." This pottery no doubt stood between S. Anne Street and Soho Street, which are the two roads spoken of in the lease. On one of Eyes' undated plans, belonging to Mr. Mayer, this pottery is called—"Works in Folly Lane, Shaw, afterwards Pennington and Wolfe." Another plan, dated 12th September, 1764, shews Alderman Thomas Shaw's property extending westward from Soho Street, first with nearly 80 yards of garden, and then with 76 yards of enclosure, marked "mugg works, &c." A house is given on the plan, behind the garden, and the whole is stated to be on lease to Alderman Thomas Shaw, and called his mug work, under

date 30th September, 1767. Another undated plan is of the same plot, with rather more detail in the way of buildings, and is described as—"Plan of the 'china works' and other premises "in Folly Lane, belonging to Mr. Richard Gerard." Another of Eyes' plans is of the garden and china works of Richard Gerard, Esq., in Folly Lane, planned on lease 11th July, 17— (the rest of the date is unfortunately gone). This plan makes the plot extend 147 yards west of Soho Street. From another very interesting plan, made by Charles Eyes, in May, 1801, when this property was styled the Islington China Manufactory, and planned for sale, we get a very accurate notion of these pot works, and the positions of the ovens and kilns, throwing room, slip house, printing, and gold rooms. The actual manufactory had a frontage of about 200 feet, and was about 125 feet deep. On this plan the plot is called "The Islington China Manufactory, "belonging to Mr. Thomas Wolfe." On another plan, entitled "Mr. Wolfe's house and china works in Folly Lane, planned on "assignment, 2nd October, 1795, that part under the Corporation "planned on lease, &c., 22nd February, 1790." There are one or two pencilled memoranda about dipping house and glass kiln on this plan; otherwise no details of the factory. A Mr. Richard Gerrard is described in Gore's *Directory* for 1766 as surgeon and apothecary, in Dale Street. Mr. Mayer states that it was John Pennington, the second son of John Pennington, a maltster, who had the Islington "Bank." With regard to Mr. Wolfe, his name appears in Gore's *Directory* for 1790, as a "Staffordshire mer- "chant;" that is, probably, an exporter of Staffordshire wares. In Gore's *Directory* for 1796 he appears as a china manufacturer, 2, Upper Islington, and also with a Staffordshire and china warehouse, 48, Old Dock. In Gore's *Directory* for 1800, he appears again as in 1796.

Another pottery was situated on the right hand side of Folly Lane going east. Amongst Mr. Mayer's plans is one of this property, which is styled a parcel of ground called Furnival's Fields, held by lease under the Corporation of Liverpool, by Richard Gildart, Esq., surveyed 29th August, 1760. The plan

is redated 27th September, 1764, with Mr. F. Gildart as lessee, and in 1771 and 1776 with Mrs. Lydia Gildart as lessee. The "Mug house and Yard" seem to have occupied 1 rood 28 poles and to have had a mill in one corner. On the outside of the plan is written—"Mrs. Lydia Gildart's fields near the Infirmary, "late Furnival's, between Folly Lane and Prescot Lane." There is no record on the plan as to who worked the pottery, but in Gore's *Directory* for 1774, Jonas Bold and Co. are described as at the "Mug house," in Folly Lane. In 1777 Jonas Bold is described as a merchant.

Pottery on Copperas Hill.

This pottery stood on the right-hand side going up Copperas Hill, and occupied a site through the middle of which Ainsworth Street now runs. There is a small plan of this among the Mayer MSS., called "Pothouse, gardens, and several dwelling houses on "Copperas Hill, plan'd on lease, &c., 6th December, 1775, for "Mr. William Marsh Mears, administrator to the late Mr. Thos. "Mears." In *Gore's Directory* for 1774, James Pennington appears as at the China Works, Copperas Hill. Mr. Mayer states that James Pennington, was brother of John and Seth Pennington.

Potteries on Brownlow Hill.

There were two potteries on Brownlow Hill, one on the right going east, of which there is a small undated plan amongst the Mayer MSS., on which it is called "Reid's China Works." This pottery had a frontage of 60 yards into Brownlow Hill, and extended right back, with a similar width, to Pleasant Street. The site was bounded on the west by what is now called Rock Street. In the *Liverpool Advertiser*, for September 24, 1756, the following advertisement appears:—"Wanted, several apprentices at Messrs. "Reid and Comp. China Manufactory, at Brownley-Hill, near "this town. Any young persons with capacities for drawing and "painting may meet with suitable encouragement by applying to "the Proprietors. N.B.—Any person that can supply the work

"with cord wood* are desired to apply to the managers; a large "quantity being wanted." Another advertisement of this factory in the *Liverpool Advertiser* for November 19, 1759, is given by Mr. Mayer. Another advertisement appears in the *Liverpool Advertiser* for March 10 or 19, 1758, and is given by Mr. Mayer. In a similar advertisement for October 27, 1758, Messrs. Reid state that they want immediately apprentices for painters in the Liverpool China Manufactory. In 1760, June 25, Mr. Reid is again advertising for apprentices.

The other pottery on Brownlow Hill stood on the left side going east, and appears to have had a frontage of about 60 yards, its eastern boundary being the corner of what is now St. Andrew Street. On a plan of this property, dated 1788, is written, "The "Executors of the late Mr. Joseph Brook's Mug Works in Brown-"low Hill Lane, plan'd 19 June, 1788, on lease." Also, "The "Old Turpentine Works, now converted into Mug Works," &c.

The Duke Street Pottery.

There are several plans of this amongst Eyes' papers. The site occupied by the pothouse and mill is now the north entrance to and part of S. James' Walk, the frontage extending about 50 yards. In one of Eyes' plans for 1765 it is placed near the watchhouse. In another plan it is styled, "Mr. George Drink-water's Mill on Mount Sion, planned on lease, &c., 12 April, 1777." Mr. Geo. Drinkwater's name, as *potter* in Duke Street, occurs in Gore for 1766, 1769, and 1774. In 1777, Geo. and John Drink-water are styled merchants, in King Street.

The Gradwell Street Pottery.

This pottery stood at the east corner of Gradwell Street and Pothouse Lane, now Campbell Street, having a frontage of 55 ft. into Gradwell Street. On a plan of this property amongst the Mayer MSS. it is styled, "James Bridge, Esq., Warehouse and

* The "cord wood," as it is still called in the south, was a shaped block of wood like a pit prop, and was burnt on dogs about two feet apart. Mr. Charles Potter has kindly obtained for me, from a friend in a wooded part of Sussex, the dimensions of a "cord of wood"—it is $8 \times 4 \times 4 = 128$ cubic feet.

"Yard in Gradwell Street, &c., plan'd on lease, &c., 16th March, "1776. Plannd again in December, 1780. Plannd again on "separate lease 10th October, 1788." In *Gore's Directory* for 1774, Thomas Bridge is given as a potter in Cable Street. The same name also occurs as "potter" in 1761 and 1780. From another plan of this property I gather that the frontage into Pothouse Lane was 87 feet, and the depth of the site about 55 feet. From this plan it would appear that Mr. George Drinkwater had premises adjoining, but his name does not occur on the pothouse plot. Mr. Mayer gives the proprietor of this pottery as James Drinkwater—Mr. Boardman corrects this, and says it was George Drinkwater. Thomas Bridge (not James) is given as a potter in list of voters for 1761, also in 1780. In Gore for 1774 he is given as potter, 32, Cable Street.

The Pottery in Flint Street.

This pottery stood at the west corner of Flint Street and Parliament Street, and extended for about 50 yards down Parliament Street. This was called the "Flint Mug-works," and a small plan of the works was made by Eyes, dated 21 Dec., 1772. The works went back into Greenland Street. The works appear in the 1806 Map of Liverpool. In the notes from the Holt and Gregson MSS. given above, it would appear that this Pottery was built by Okill and Co. In *Gore's Directory* for 1777, Thomas Broughall is given as a potter, residing at 15, Flint Street; but he may have been a workman only.

The Pottery in Park Lane.

This pottery stood on the right-hand side of Park Lane going south, alongside what is called, in the 1769 map, the White Ropery. It is given as a pothouse in that map, and has a mill behind it. The site is now partly covered by the L. and N.W. Railway Wapping goods station, and the frontage began about 20 yards north of Blundell Street. One of Eyes' plans, evidently of this plot, with Crosbie Street on the north, and frontage to Park Lane on East, calls it a mill, brewhouse, and dwelling house,

granted on lease to Sir Foster Cunliffe. The plot appears to have had a frontage of 60 feet, and to have gone back about 200 feet and more. This plan is dated 16th February, 1780, from which it would appear that by that date the place was no longer a pothouse, but had been converted into a brewery. In the *Liverpool Advertiser* for 16 July, 1756, is the following advertisement :— "John Eccles and Co., Potters, at the Park Lane Pothouse, in "Liverpool, make and sell all sorts of black and white earthen- "ware, being the first of the black and white colours ever brought "to perfection in Liverpool, and offered to sale at such low prices. "Likewise, all sorts of blue and white earthenware in the newest "China taste, wholesale and retail, at the lowest prices. N.B.— Orders punctually observed." Another advertisement for 21 Jan., 1774, is given by Mr. Mayer (under date 4 Feb., 1774,) which gives Messrs. Rigg and Peacock as the owners, and states that they took it from Mr. Okell, lately deceased. In *Gore's Directory* for 1766, Richard Thwaites and Robert Willcock and Co. appear as potters in Park Lane. In 1769, James Pennington is given as having china works in Park Lane. In 1777, David McCreary is styled potter and victualler, at 46, Park Lane.

Printed Ware Manufactory of Messrs. Sadler and Green, Harrington Street.

The next pottery, or "Printed Ware Manufactory," as it was styled, is that of Messrs. Sadler and Green, in Harrington Street. On a plan of this property, dated December, 1777, it is called "Mr. Guy Green's houses in Harrington Street and John Street," and "The house and work shops belonging to Mr. Guy Green." These premises had a frontage of 20 feet 6 inches into Harrington Street, on the right hand side, going west, about 40 feet from the corner of Harrington Street and John Street. They ran back about 129 feet. Mr. Guy Green is also shewn, on the same plan, to have a "warehouse, four dwelling-houses, and a cooperage "facing into John Street." In another plan of the properties in Derby Square, Mr. Guy Green's name is attached to two houses, under the dates 1769—1789. There is another small plan of

these two houses, dated 19th May, 1769. Mr. Guy Green was a printer who succeeded to the business of Mr. Adam Sadler, and afterwards became partner with his son, John Sadler. John Sadler commenced business as a printer in Harrington Street in 1748. It is said that the first idea of applying the art of printing to the ornamentation of pottery, occurred to John Sadler from his seeing some children stick waste prints upon broken bits of pottery to ornament their dolls' houses with. The discovery of such a process was, however, the cause of John Sadler and Guy Green becoming partners; and from papers in Mr. Mayer's possession, it is well known that in 1756 they had prepared documents for the purpose of taking out a patent for this invention, though the patent was never secured. From Mr. Mayer's papers it is also evident that in 1766 Sadler and Green were in partnership, and negotiating for another partner. They are given in *Gore's Directory* for that year and 1769 as at the "Printed "Ware Manufactory, Harrington Street." In *Gore's Directory* for 1774 Guy Green appears alone, as "China Printer, 14, "Harrington Street." This would seem to imply that, between 1769 and 1774, Sadler and Green dissolved partnership. This is further borne out by the property being assigned to Guy Green only in the plan of 1777, and by the memoranda given in Mr. Mayer's paper relative to the connection between Josiah Wedgwood and the Liverpool printing on pottery, all which memoranda are to and from Guy Green only. Guy Green retired from business in 1799, and John Sadler died in 1789.

Pottery in the Old Haymarket.

This pottery, with a frontage of about 30 yards, stood at the corner of the Old Haymarket and Dale Street. It was worked by Zachariah Barnes, a native of Warrington, and brother of Dr. Barnes of Manchester. Mr. Mayer says that Barnes commenced making china, and afterwards gave up that manufacture and confined himself to making delft ware. In the Mayer Museum there are a number of delft ware specimens known to have been made by Barnes, and given to Mr. Mayer by his

daughter, Mrs. Wedgwood, of Bebington. The writer saw, some years ago, in possession of Mrs. Lyon of Claughton, an oil portrait of her grandfather, Zachariah Barnes, whom she well recollected as a pious, industrious, money-making man. Mrs. Lyon remembered also seeing the young men painting the blue designs on the tiles, &c., at the Old Haymarket pottery.

The Herculaneum Pottery.

This pottery formerly stood on the site now occupied by the Herculaneum Dock. It was first started, says Mr. Mayer, by Richard Abbey, in conjunction with a Scotchman named Graham, about the year 1794. "Mr. Abbey," says Mr. Mayer, "had "served his time as an engraver to Mr. Sadler, in Harrington "Street, where he engraved, besides many other works, a copper-"plate for a large quart jug, having upon it the Farmers' Arms, "and was considered very skilful in his art. He afterwards went "to a pottery at Glasgow, to teach the art of engraving; and "thence to a manufactory in France, for the same purpose." A signed specimen of Mr. Abbey's printing is referred to at a later page. Mr. Abbey died in 1801, and after this the Herculaneum works were taken by Messrs. Worthington, Humble and Holland. This company imported a number of hands from Staffordshire, and a long description of their journey and arrival is given by Mr. Mayer. In 1806 other proprietors were introduced, and the works continued until 1833, when the pottery was sold to Ambrose Lace, Esq., and others, who let it to Messrs. Thomas Case and James Mort. In 1836 the name of Simpson was added to the firm, and the works so continued until their final closing in 1841.

EXAMPLES OF LIVERPOOL POTTERY AND PORCELAIN IN THE MAYER MUSEUM.

Liverpool Delft Ware.

This ware, like the delft fabric made at Bristol and in other parts of England, was an imitation of the celebrated Dutch fayence, and derives its name from the city of Delft, where that pottery was made. "The importation of delft ware," says Miss Meteyard, "had existed from an early date; Dutch potters "had begun to settle here in the beginning of the reign of Queen "Elizabeth; and from about the close of her reign till the middle "of the eighteenth century, the productions of delft ware were "poured into this country, principally through our eastern ports "of Hull, Harwich, and Great Yarmouth. The traffic between "this latter place and Holland was immense; and almost every "trading vessel brought a portion of Dutch earthenware. It was "taken in exchange; it formed, with Dutch pictures, the chief "ornament of the gentry and tradesmen's houses; and vast "quantities were carried inland." In order to rival this large trade, the English potters in Liverpool, Bristol, and elsewhere commenced to imitate the Dutch fabric, and many of their imitations are most successful; so much so, that in some cases, where neither the decoration nor any accompanying tradition lead to any identification of the source of the manufacture, the specimens are often difficult to distinguish from the Dutch examples. The tin enamel glaze of English delft ware, however, is, as a rule, less opaque than that of the Dutch, and the specimens have a pink tone and colour about them, caused by the body of the fabric partially showing through the glaze. The two styles of colouring employed are the simple blue upon the white ground, and the mixture of yellow, green, blue, and purple, as on No. 7, &c. The identity of these Liverpool examples has been determined for the most part by their having been handed down

in families, with reliable traditions, or by the subjects being of a strictly local character. A few fragmentary specimens were dug up on the site of one of the potteries, but there were no special characteristics about them.

1. Caudle pot, in blue and white delft ware, with pastoral scenes round it; inscribed on lip—

I S B — H. 11¼in.
1702 — 2030

2. Plaque, of blue and white delft ware, with view of Great Crosby, with the river Mersey in the foreground, the sandhills near the shore, and fields beyond, and in the background the village of Great Crosby. In a scroll over the view—

A * WEST * PROSPECT * OF * GREAT * CROSBY * 1716 *

It is supposed that this plaque was made by Alderman Shaw. 4512

3. Mug, in blue and white delft ware, inscribed in front—

P
* I * R * — H. 6in.
1728 — 2413

4. Object in shape of an arm protruding out of a lion's mouth, in blue and white delft ware, possibly used as a candlestick or torch holder. L. 14in. 2416

5. Puzzle-jug, with verse round the body :—

Here Gentlemen Come try your skill
I'l Hould a wager if you will
That you dont drink this Liquor all
*Without you spill or let some fall.**

Another version of this rhyme is—

If this be ye first that you have seen
I'll lay the weager which you please to pay
That you dont drink this liquor all
Without you spil or let some fall.

H. 7½in. 2461

6. A similar jug, with the same verse rather differently spelt. H. 6⅝in. 2462

* In the collection of Mr. L. Solon is a delft puzzle-jug, probably Liverpool ware, inscribed—

Within this can there is good liquor
'Tis fit for Parson or for Vicar
But how to drink and not to spill
Will try the utmost of your skill.

7. Mug, with flowers painted on it, in yellow, green, blue, and purple. Inscribed in blue—T. F. 1757. Said to have been made by Thomas Fazakerley, a workman of Samuel Shaw's. H. 6¼in. 2421

8. Mug, with flowers painted in similar style to last, inscribed—C. F. 1758. (Catharine Fazakerley.) H. 4⅞in. 2422

9. Flower stand painted in a similar style to Nos. 7 and 8. L. 5½in. H. 3in. 2420

10. Jug, with portrait of William Pitt under the spout, and over it THE RT. HON. WILLIAM PITT. H. 9in. 2465

11. Bowl, in blue and white delft ware, with ship painted inside, with a lion for figure head. This bowl was made for Captain Metcalfe of the *Golden Lion.* This ship was originally a French sloop of war, and was captured by a Liverpool privateer, about 1749, converted into a Greenland whaler, and bought by a company. The *Golden Lion* had a berth in the Old Dock called by her name. This bowl was presented to Captain Metcalfe, on his return from a second successful voyage, by the shareholders, in 1753. It is said to have been made by Alderman Thos. Shaw. and to have been retained awhile at his pottery, as a pattern for the workmen. H. 7¾in., Dia. 17in. 2558

12. Bowl, with flowers on the outside in similar style to Nos. 7 and 8, and inside a ship, with SUCCESS TO THE WILLIAM AND MARY, below. H. 4in., Dia. 10½in. 9.5.78.1

13. Bowl, with birds, &c., round the outside, in colours similar to No. 7, &c. Inside, a ship in full sail, and below it, SUCCESS TO THE MONMOUTH, 1760. See Williamson's *Liverpool Advertiser*, 12 Jan., 1759:—"For Jamaica . . . The Monmouth, Frigate, "John Fell, commander," &c. . . Said to be delft ware of Seth Pennington, and given to Mr. Mayer by Mrs. Twentyman, of Duke Street. H. 4in., Dia. 10½in. 2557

14. Bowl, with views round the outside, and inside a ship, and SUCCESS TO THE BLUNDELL. See Williamson's *Liverpool Advertiser*, 20 October, 1758—"To be sold by Auction . . . . the "ship Blundell, burthen 250 tons. . . . The Materials may be "seen by applying to Mr. Samuel Shaw, merchant." H. 3½in., Dia. 9½in. 2555

15. Bowl, with flowers round the outside, and inside a ship, and THE NANCY. There is an advertisement of a ship called the Nancy, in Williamson's *Liverpool Advertiser* for 27 April, 1759. H. 4½in., Dia. 10in. 2556

16. Bowl, with purple and blue flowers outside, and within, TO ALL FRIENDS IN THE NORTH. H. 3¾in., Dia. 9in. 15.1.74.15

17. Tea poy, dated twice on the top, 1744, and inscribed on one side:— H. 4½in. 2423

Joseph
Swadell
whe^n this you
see Remember
me and Beare
me in your
mind let all
the world say
what they will
speak of me
As you find
1774

18. Dishes, plates, strainers, &c., in blue and white delft ware, known to be the manufacture of Zachariah Barnes, and presented to Mr. Mayer by his daughter, Mrs. Wedgwood, of Bebington, Cheshire, in 1854. 2432 . 2435

19. Pair of chemists' drug-pots, with names of drugs painted outside—U : DIAPOMPH : (unguentum ?); and U : NERVINŪ : (unguentum nervinum.) These were obtained by Mr. Mayer from a chemist named Johnson, for whose father Zachariah Barnes made them. H. 7in. 2444-5

20. Drug-pot, inscribed in blue—P : SINE : QUIB : (Pulv. sine ?). Said to be the delft of Z. Barnes. H. 4in. 2446

21. Drug-pot, with CONS : CORT : AUR : (Conserve of orange peel). Said to be the delft of Z. Barnes. H. 8in. 2443

22. Round open pot, for preserved fish, with figures of fish painted round it, and the initials I B. Mr. Mayer states that Z. Barnes made large quantities of pots for potting char, which were sent to the lakes. Dia. 8¾in. 2415

23. Fire-place tiles, in blue and white delft ware, with figures of boys playing various games, skipping rope, &c. 2452

24. Fire-place tiles, with birds painted upon them in various colours, similar to Nos. 7 and 8. 2451

25. Fire-place tiles, painted in blue, with landscapes, vases with flowers, and conventional designs. 2457

26. Border tiles, half the usual size, painted with conventional scroll patterns, in blue, green, and purple. 2539

27. Two tiles, with figures of agriculturalists painted on them in blue. Found on Shaw's Brow, Islington, Liverpool, in 1860. 2450

28. Fragments of delft ware, found on Shaw's Brow; among them, portion of a large plate, with crest painted in blue, a lion rampant. 2424 . 2427 . 2449

In the collection of the Rev. Thomas Staniforth is a Liverpool delft bowl, inscribed—"Success to the Active—Joseph and Eliza-"beth." In Gore's *General Advertiser*, for 3 January, 1788, is an advertisement of "The ship Active, John Powell, master, now "loading for Norfolk and James River, Virginia."

In the possession of Mr. Crompton, of Bootle, are a few pieces believed to be Liverpool ware; one is a delft dish, inscribed, "Jane Thornton," the name of Mr. Crompton's grandmother. Mr. Crompton is a descendant of Thomas Shaw, the Liverpool potter.

Slip Ware, Tortoiseshell, and Salt-glaze Ware.

29. Figure of a volunteer, in red and white pottery, lead-glazed; on his pointed cap is the liver. (?) H. 6⅞in. 9.5.78.2

30. Bowl, with cover, in light-coloured clay, covered over the outside of the body with brown and yellow "slip" decoration; a row of birds round the top, and the initials A. W.; and below, various conventional designs. This interesting and elaborate specimen of the old English "*slip*" ware is said to have been made on Shaw's Brow, by one of a family named Page, who were potters in Liverpool, and to have been preserved in the family ever since. It was given to the Mayer Museum by Mr. John Melson, whose wife was a descendant of the Page family.
H. 12¾in. 27.6.78.1

31. Fire place tiles, with purple and white marbled mottle upon them. 2235

32. Dessert dish and five plates, of brown and green mottled ware. The dish has a raised leafage ornamentation, and is very well made. Most probably made by Philip Christian, and given to Mr. Mayer by Mrs. Rockliffe, of Clare Terrace, Edge Hill, granddaughter of Philip Christian. 2334-8

33, Tea pot, cream jug, and bason, from the same or very similar tea service, in nearly white salt-glaze pottery, with raised design of vine growth, and a bird, apparently an eagle, with branch in its mouth, most probably meant for the liver. The ornamentation has been gilt. 908-9. 2350

34. Two tea pots, in similar ware to No. 33, one of them with vine design and liver. 2309. 2351

35. Mug, in nearly white salt-glazed ware, with designs painted in enamel, after the Chinese. Very good work and fine colours.
H. 4⅞in. 2349

36. Mug, in gilt-glaze pottery, inscribed, and a blue colour run into the lettering and ornamentation—

SER WILLIAM
A
PLUMPER.

On a salt-glaze piece in Mr. Willett's collection is the legend—WENMAN AND DASHWOOD FOR EVER, OLD INTEREST, NO DOUBLE RETURN. On a salt-glaze enamelled jug in the collection of the Rev. T. Staniforth is the legend—SUCCESS TO MR. JOHN CALVERLEY OF LEEDS. Mr. Calverley was Mayor 1772-85, and 1798.

H. 5⅛in. 2348

37. Three fragments of salt-glaze pottery, two of them with incised decoration upon them. Exactly similar to No. 36.

2343-4. 2347

38. Oval dish and plate, in cream ware. Said to have been made by R. Chaffers. 2320. 2324

39. Cup and saucer, in cream ware. Said to have been made by Sadler and Green. 2368

40. Bowl, in cream ware, with Chinese landscapes, painted in blue outside, and inside—SEE IT OUT. H. 3¼in. Dia. 7¼in. 2569

Printed Ware.

It has been already said that Messrs. Sadler and Green were the first to practise the art of transfer printing upon pottery. It is known that they were engaged upon this as early as 1756, and that they continued it until nearly the end of the century. Much of the ware upon which their prints appear was made by Josiah Wedgwood, and sent to Liverpool to be printed upon. No doubt, towards the end of the 18th century, and at the commencement of the 19th, other potters used similar printed subjects and decoration, generally inferior in execution to that of Messrs. Sadler and Green. The following examples of printed ware in the Mayer Museum have been grouped roughly in this paper according to the subjects; and it should be noted that, unless otherwise specified, the ware upon which these subjects appear is the cream-coloured pottery similar to Wedgwood's Queen's Ware.

Local Subjects.

41. Mug, with AN EAST VIEW OF LIVERPOOL LIGHTHOUSE AND SIGNALS ON BIDSTON HILL, 1788. The view gives the

lighthouse and a row of flags, numbered. Below is a list of the firms represented by the various flags :—

1. Mr. Slater's.
2. Mr. Baker's.
3. Mr. Watts's.
4. Mr. Kent's.
5. Mr. Fisher's.
6. Mr. Galley's.
7. Mr. Bolton's.
8. Mr. Ingram's.
9. Mr. Ashton's.
10. Mr. Kenyon's.
11. Mr. Bent's.
12. Mr. Backhouse's.
13. Mr. Dickson's.
14. Mr. Freeland's.
15. Mr. Copland's.
16. Messrs. Earle's.
17. Mr. R. Fisher's.
18. Mr. Staniforth's.
19. Mr. Wilding's.
20. Mr. Brooks's.
21. Mr. France's.
22. Mr. Boat's.
23. Mr. Birch's.
24. Greenland Ships.
25. Men of War.
26. Ship's.
27. Brigs.
28. Snows, &c.
29. Well Boats.
30. Mr. Gregson's.
31. Mr. Tomlinson's.
32. Rawlinson & Co.'s.
33. Mr. Tarleton's.
34. Mr. Orange's.
35. Messrs. Lake's.
36. Mr. Jackson's.
37. Mr. Kewley's.
38. Allanson & Barton.
39. Mason & Bourn.
40. Dublin Traders.
41. Willock & Co.
42. Lond. Cheese Ships.
43. Harper & Bryde.

See the Binns Collection, vol. XI., p. 23 and foll.

H. 4⅝in. 2215.

42. Plate, of more recent make probably than No. 41, but with very nearly the same print upon it of the Bidston Lighthouse and flags. The directions for signalling are very much the same as on No. 41. Dia. 10⅝in. 2493.

43. Mug, with an east view of Bidston Lighthouse, as on No. 41, the names of the merchants slightly different. No. 6 is Mr. Bolton's; 12, Mr. Bradstock's; 14, Messrs. Brown's; 25, Mr. C. Jones's; 34, Breeze, Charnley, and Dixon; 35, Mr. Leyland's; 36, Mr. Bostock's; 39, Dublin Packets; 45, Belfast Traders; 50, Mr. Beckwith's; Mr. Thompson's, a red flag over a white one on Mr. Wilding's pole. The directions for signalling are similar to those on No. 41. H. 5in. 2216

44. Mug, with an east view of Bidston Lighthouse, as on No. 41, with the names of the merchants slightly different. No. 1, Mr. Clarke's; 3, Mr. Dawson's; 5, Mr. Humble's; 9, Mr. G. Hall's; 11, Mr. Blackburn's; 14, Mr. Moss'; 15, Messrs. Backhouse and R———; 17, Messrs. J. and T. Hodson's; 18, Messrs. Tarleton and Rigg's; 19, Messrs. Brown and Forbes; 20, Messrs. Nielson and H———; 21, Messrs. G. and H. Brown's; 22, Messrs. J. and R. Myers's; 26, Mr. Ward's; 30, Mr. Rigby's; 31, Mr. Ratcliffe's; 32, Messrs. Hayhurst and Co.; 33, Mess. Boates and S———; 40, Enemies; 42, Messrs. Breeze and Co.; 44, Messrs. Byrne and Co.; 46, Mr. Chorley's; 47, Messrs. Tarleton and B———; 50, Mr. Benson's; 53, Mr. Barton's; 54, Mr. Mason's. H. 4¾in. 25.2.68.1

45. Jug, with an east view of the Bidston Lighthouse, and list

of merchants, same as on No. 44. On the other side directions for signalling, similar to those on No. 41, and over them—

Bidston Light House Signals.

For every { Ship, a board on the South Flag Staff.
Brig, Do. on the Middle Do.

{ Snow Ketch, Hoy, or Large Schooner } a Board on the North Flag Staff.

H. 8½in. 18.7.79.3.

46. Jug, with an east view of Bidston Lighthouse and Signals; the list of merchants slightly differing from No. 45. No. 1, Mr. T. Parr; 2, Mr. R. Leigh; 3, Atherton and Astley; 4, Mr. Drinkwater; 6, Mr. Rawlins; 8, Mr. Hinde; 10, J. Gibbons and Co.; 11, Walker and Co.; 13, Mr. Hurry; 14, Humble, Holland, Hurry; 17, T. Booth and Co.; 18, Timperon, Litt and Harrison; 28, Mr. Gladstone; 29, Mr. Maury; 32, T. and W. Earle; 37, Mr. Cobham; 38, Mr. Blease; 39, Fairweather and Co.; 40, France and Co.; 42, Mr. Walton; 43, Mr. Penny; 44, Mr. Hodgson; 45, Mr. Garbers; 55, Bailey, Tailor and Co.; 56, Ed. Charnley and Co.; 66, Mr. R. Johnson; 68, Mr. Goring; 72, Mr. Jozeph; 73, Mr. Hadkinson. On the other side, view of a pilot-boat, No. 2, and over it—SAFETY DEPENDS ON CONDUCT. Under spout, initials $_{R}^{C}{}_{J}$ (probably of the captain of the pilot-boat). H. 9¾in. 18.7.79.2

47. Plate similar to No. 42, with view of Bidston Lighthouse, and list of merchants same as No. 46. Dia. 10½in. 2494

48. Teapot; on one side, Stanley crest and

Good Health and Success
To the Right Hon^ble the Earl of Derby

Long may he live
Happy may he be
Blest with content
And from misfortune free.

Other side, pastoral scene. H. with lid 5⅝in. 2381

49. Jug, on one side, *The Cordwainers' Arms*, a shield, with three goats' heads, and another goat's head for crest, supported by two apprentices (?), one holding a shoe and the other a boot; and below, NULLA INVERTITUR ORDO. On the other side is an admirably printed pastoral scene, with a shepherd and cattle, and landscape of rocks, water, &c. Under the spout, G. R.

H. 7in. 15.1.74.13

50. Jug, with *The Brewers' Arms* on one side; a shield, with three barrels in a band, and three sheaves of barley (?) in the field, surmounted by a crest, a mermaid holding up ears of

barley; below, IN GOD IS ALL OUR TRUST. On the other side is a view of the LIVERPOOL PORTER BREWERY, surmounted by a youthful Bacchus, holding wreath and cups, astride a barrel. Under the spout, R. K. This engraving of the Porter Brewery is in the Binns Collection, vol. x., p. 130. H. 9¾in. 3.2.76.1

51. Jug, with coat of arms on one side, printed in red; no doubt of some trade guild; and, below, the legend—PROSPERITY ATTEND THE INTEGRITY OF OUR CAUSE. On the other side, a sailing ship, flying the American flag.* H. 6¾in. 23.2.82.1

52. Teapot; on one side, *The Farmers' Arms*, a shield divided into four quarters, containing a sheaf of corn and various agricultural implements, surmounted by a plough for a crest, and supported by a dairymaid and farm labourer with scythe. Below, IN GOD IS OUR TRUST. On the other side is—

May the Mighty & Great,
Roll in splendor and State,
I envy them not I declare it;
I eat my own Lamb,
My Chicken & Ham,
I shear my own Sheep and I wear it:
I have Lawns I have Bowers;
I have Fruits I have Flowers
The Lark is my Morning alarmer:
So you jolly Dogs now
Here's God bless the Plow,
Long Life and Content to the Farmer.

2201

53. Jug, with *The Farmers' Arms* on one side, as on No. 52, and on the other a scene of harvest merrymaking. Under the spout, R. A. G. 1798. H. 8¼in. 19.8.73.25

54. Jug, with *The Farmers' Arms* on one side; a print nearly similar to that on No. 52. On the other side a scene with an oriental youth and girl in a pastoral landscape, and below—

Abbas and Abra.

Oft as she went she backwards turn'd to view,
And bade that crook & bleating flock adieu.

H. 9in. 2202

55. Jug, in white pottery; under the spout—H. R. 1813. On one side, the insignia of the Cambrian Society, and—SUCCESS TO THE CAMBRIAN SOCIETY; and THE TOWN AND TRADE OF LIVERPOOL. On the other side a nosegay of flowers, well painted. On the bottom are impressed twice, the initials—W. S. Presented by the Cambrian Society of Liverpool per Mr. W. H. Richards, Chairman. 12⅜in. 7.10.75.1

* In the collection of Mr. Solon, of Stoke, is a jug bearing a black Liverpool transfer print of the armorial bearings of the Merchant Tailors.

56. Mug, with portrait of Colonel Tarleton in uniform, standing with his left foot raised on a cannon. The print is signed—*F. Johnson.* This was possibly Joseph Johnson, a native of Liverpool, and a London partner of the Liverpool firm which commenced "Gore's Advertiser" in 1765. This print is taken from the well-known portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds in the Wynn Ellis Collection. For engravings of the same, see Binns Collection, vol. XVII., pp. 61-2. Colonel Tarleton was M.P. for Liverpool between 1790 and 1812. H. 6in. 17.5.75.3

Masonic Subjects.

The jugs and punch-bowls upon which the Masonic subjects appear, were no doubt made for the use of Lodges. Most of the examples appear to be of rather a late date.

57. Mug, with the armorial bearings of the Freemasons, surrounded by scrolls, festoons, Masonic emblems, and figures of the three principal officers of the Lodge, printed upon it, in black. H. 5¾in. 15.1.74.6

58. Punch-bowl, with printed design inside, similar to that upon the mug described above; and round the outside, another similar design, and the now obsolete jewel of a Master Mason, between two pastoral views, one representing dancing, and the other love-making. Dia. 8¾in. 2572

59. Jug, with printed designs upon it. On one side, within a border, is a representation of the now obsolete jewel of a Master Mason. On the reverse, within a similar border, the armorial bearings of the Freemasons, surrounded by emblems. Above the border is the legend—"A HEART THAT CONCEALS, AND THE TONGUE THAT NEVER REVEALS." H. 7in. 4.5.81.3

60. Jug, with Masonic emblems printed on one side, and on the other, the verse given below, surrounded by emblems.

The world is in pain
Our secrets to gain
But still let them wonder & gaze on
For they ne'er can divine
The word nor the sign
Of a free & accepted Mason.

Under the spout are a square and compasses, and the letter G within an irradiated triangle. H. 9½in. 15.1.74.12

61. Jug; the rim painted brown. Round the outside are many groups of Masonic emblems, printed and partially coloured. Under the spout is the verse beginning, "The world is in pain." H. 11in. 1.9.81.1

62. Punch-bowl; the rim painted brown. Round the edge, inside, are eight small marine subjects; and in the centre two classical female figures, with Masonic emblems, in front of the columns of the five orders of architecture, trees, &c. Below is the verse—

To Heaven's high Architect all praise
All gratitude be given
Who deign'd the human soul to raise
By secrets sprung from heaven.

Round the outside are four pastoral and marine views.
Dia. 12¾in. 2568

63. Two punch-bowls, in white pottery, with printed Masonic designs inside, and gilt and other painted work round. Both bear the inscription—ETRUSCAN LODGE 327—and the date—5807 [*i.e.*, A.D. 1807]. One is inscribed also—BRIDGE INN ETRURIA. and has also the same print as the jug described below, and evidently belonged to the same lodge. Both bowls have the impressed mark—WEDGWOOD. These bowls and the jug described below evidently belonged to the lodge at Etruria, in Staffordshire, the village founded by Josiah Wedgwood, and in which the Wedgwood Pottery still stands. Dia. 11½in. 11.9.68.5 4.5.81.1

64. Jug, in white pottery, with the armorial bearings of the Freemasons on a black and white pavement, surrounded by Masonic emblems; to the left the three principal officers of the lodge, wearing aprons and insignia, on one side. On the other side, the verse, "The world is in pain," &c. Under the spout, in gold, the cypher—E.L. [Etruscan Lodge.] Marked—WEDGWOOD. H. 10in. 4.5.81.2

Naval and Military Heroes.

65. Bowl, with view of ship inside; and below—VENERABLE 74 GUNS. Outside, a medallion portrait of Lord Viscount Duncan, and a view of a naval battle, and two views of marine deities, &c., all extremely fine prints. Dia. 12in. 29.4.75.4

66. Jug, with view of a seaport quay on one side, and a naval battle on the other, with inscription below—A REPRESENTATION OF THE GLORIOUS DEFEAT OF THE FRENCH FLEET OF BREST BY EARL HOWE, JUNE THE 1ST, 1794. H. 8in. 15.1.74.3

67. Mug, with view (in red print) of the storming of Valenciennes, and inscribed below—STORMING AND TAKING VALENCIENNES BY THE BRITISH TROOPS &C. UNDER THE COMMAND OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF YORK. H. 5in. 2214

68. Jug, with medallion portrait of Lord Nelson on one side, inscribed—ADMIRAL LORD NELSON above, and—BATTLE OF THE NILE below. Under the portrait is a small map, indicating

the positions occupied by the various ships engaged in the battle. On the other side, the armorial bearings of Lord Nelson; and under the spout—ADMIRAL LORD NELSON AND THE GLORIOUS FIRST OF AUGUST 1798. H. 8¼in. 9.12.80.21

America.

69, Teapot; on one side, portrait inscribed—THE RIGHT HON. WILL^M. PITT ESQ. On the other, seated figure of a woman, representing the Republic of America, with map below, and insignia around. 30.4.75.1

70. Jug; American Eagle under spout, and—PEACE COMMERCE & HONEST FRIENDSHIP WITH ALL NATIONS — ENTANGLING ALLIANCES WITH NONE. JEFFERSON. Below this, in monogram —J.A.S. On one side, a ship, with American flag, and below—SHIP SALLY OF NEWBURY PORT. MOSES WELLS, MASTER. 1805. On the other side, the apotheosis of Washington, and—ASCENDING INTO GLORY. H. 12¼in. 27.11.73.1

71. Jug, with eagle and ship as on No. 70. On the other side, view of a monument to Washington, with—GEORGE WASHINGTON BORN FEB^Y. 11 1732 DIED DEC^R. 14 1799. Near the tomb are a female figure [America] and the eagle mourning. Over the view—WASHINGTON IN GLORY; and below—AMERICA IN TEARS. H. 9¾in. 2205

72. Jug, with American Eagle, and PLURIBUS UNUM under spout; and on one side a sailing ship, with American flag; and on the other, coast and forest clearing scenes; also—

Our Mountains are cover'd with imperial Oak
Whose roots like our Liberties, ages have nourished
But long e'er our Nation submits to the Yoke
Not a Tree shall be left on the Field where it Flourished
Should Invasion impend, every Tree would descend
From the Hill tops they shaded our shores to defend.
For ne'er shall the Sons of Columbia be slaves
While the Earth bears a Plant, or the Sea rolls its Waves.

H. 8in. 2206

73. Oval medallion, with portrait of Washington; evidently a print from the portrait of Washington, given in the "Portrait Gallery," from a picture by Gilbert Stewart, in the possession of T. B. Barclay, Esq., of Liverpool. 5in. by 4in. 2400

74. Jug, with sailing ship on one side, and on the other, two ships fighting. Below is a trophy of arms, and G. R. Possibly the fight between the Chesapeake and the Shannon. H. 9¼in. 29.4.75.3

75. Bowl; inside, ship with American flag, under which, bales

of merchandize, branded, and labelled—FOR AMERICA. Also, on a scroll—SUCCESS TO TRADE. Outside, birds, &c., and verse—

Would you be wise & witty too,
Good ale I'd recommend to you:
It soon will drive away all care,
And make you laugh & grin & stare:
In sorrow pain or joy or grief:
Drink freely it will give relief.

Dia. 9¾in. 15.1.74.9

76. Bowl; outside, marine deities and profile portrait of Washington, with—HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON COMMANDER OF THE FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA; also portrait of Benjamin Franklin, with—BENJ^N. FRANKLIN LL.D. F.R.S. BORN AT BOSTON IN NEW ENGLAND 17 JAN. 1706. Inside, a ship with American flag; also emblems.

Dia. 8¾in. 30.4.75.2

77. Jug, with eagle and ship, as No. 70. On the other side, a round medallion, inscribed—PEACE PLENTY AND INDEPENDENCE, with female figures holding cornucopias, and one of them placing a burning torch to a trophy of arms over the medallion, which is surmounted by an eagle. H. 9in. 10.4.79.1

Sailor Subjects.

78. Jug; on one side and under spout, a ship; on other side, a woman nursing a child, with man seated by her, under tree in front of cottage, and another man with stick coming towards them, just landed from a boat. Under this:—

POLL AND MY PARTNER JOE.

I was d'ye see a waterman
As tight & spruce as any,
'Twixt Richmond Town
And Horsly down,
I turn'd an honest penny,
None could of Fortune's favours brag
More than would lucky I,
My Cot was snug well filled my Keg
My Grunter in the Sty.
With wherry tight
And Bosom light
I chearfully did Tow,
And to compleat this princely life
Sure never man had friend & wife
Like my Poll & my Partner Joe.

I rolled in joys like these a while
Folks far & near carress'd me,
'Till woe is me
So lubberly
The vermin came & pressed me.
How could I all the pleasures leave.
How with my Wherry part,
I never so took on to grieve
It wrung my very heart.
But when on board,
They gave the word
To foreign parts to go,
I ru'd the day that I was born
That ever I should thus be torn
From my Poll & my Partner Joe.

At last it pleased his Majesty
To give peace to the Nation,
And honest hearts
From Foreign parts
Came home for consolation,
Like lightning—for I felt new life
Now safe from all alarms
I rushed & found my Friend & Wife
Locked in each others Arms,
Yet fancy not
I bore my lot
Tame like a lubber—No
For seeing I was finely tricked
Plump to the devil I boldly kick'd
My Poll & my Partner Joe.

H. 11¾in. 2575

79. Bowl; inside, a ship and emblems; outside, scenes depicting "Jack on shore," and two verses:—

He hastes unto his native shore,
Where dwells sweet joy and rest,
His lovely Susan's smiles implore,
To crown & make him blest.
Now all his toils & dangers past,
And Susan's love remains;
The honest Tar is blest at last,
Her smiles reward his pains.

Come my old Friend & take a pot,
But mark now what I say;
Whilst that thou drink'st thy Neighbour's health
Drink not thy own away.
It but too often is the case,
While we sit o'er a Pot, [*health,*
And kindly wish our friends good
Our own is quite forgot.

Dia. 9¼in. 9.12.80.27

80. Jug, with ship on one side and compass on the other, with—COME BOX THE COMPASS over it. H. 5½in. 15.1.74.5

81. Bowl, with two river scenes with shipping on the outside, and two scenes of Jack bidding his girl adieu. Inside is the view of a ship, *painted*, and below, SUCCESS TO THE CORMORANT CAPT I. HUTCHINSON 1785. See Gore's *Liverpool General Advertiser*, 2nd June, 1785—"For Norfolk and City Point, on "James River, Virginia. The ship CORMORANT, Isaac Hut-"chinson, Master, British built, burthen about 400 tons," &c.

Dia. 10in. 2574

82. Bowl, with sailor scenes outside, as on No. 81: also views of marine deities; and inside a ship, and below it, CAPT JOH: JAED JANTZEN. FROM DANTZIG 0o 1788. The bowl is marked *Wedgwood*. Dia. 10½in. 15.1.74.8

83. Bowl; pastoral scenes, sailor bidding adieu to girl, verse—

When this you see
Remember me,
And bear me in your Mind:
Let all the World
Say what they will,
Speak of me as you find.

Dia. 8in. 2573

84. Bowl; inside, Jack bidding his girl good-bye, and—POOR JACK; a similar scene, and groups of marine deities, outside; also the verse, "When this you see," as on No. 83.

Dia. 8¾in. 9.12.80.25

Miscellaneous Subjects.

85. Oval dish, with view of bridge over river, house on right, and church beyond. L. 19½in. 2325

86. Coffee-pot, with twisted handles; on both sides, same view as on oval dish above. H. 10in. 15.1.74.1

87. Small coffee-pot, with garden tea scene, and pastoral subject. Impressed, under glaze, *Wedgwood*. H. 5¾in. 15.1.74.2

88. Mug, with very finely printed country scene upon it. Signed—*I. Sadler. Liverpool.* This mug was mounted in

silver by Mr. Mayer, and inscribed—"This Mug was made at "the bank of Guy Green, potter, whose works were situated in "Harrington St., Liverpool, and ornamented by Sadler, an "engraver in his employ, who invented the art of printing on "Earthenware. Wedgwood for many years sent all his ware by "waggon from Burslem to be printed by Guy Green in Liver-"pool and when finished was returned to him again into Stafford-"shire. J. Mayer." H. 6½in. 2217

89. Bowl, in common blue and white pottery, inscribed three times—MAY HE THAT HATH THIS BOWL, NEVER WANT WHEREWITH TO FILL IT. Dia. 14¾in. 2559

90. Bowl; scenes, ladies and gentlemen fishing from boats, and three ladies in grounds of a country house; two verses—

My love is fix'd
I cannot range
I like my choice
too well to change.

Long may we live
Happy may we be
Blest with content
and from misfortune free.

Dia. 6½ in. 15.1.74.11

91. Jug, with scene on one side, called—THE MISERIES OF WAR. On the other side, another scene, entitled—THE BLESSINGS OF PEACE. H. 7½in. 15.1.74.4

92. Teapot, portrait of Rev. John Wesley, with JOHN WESLEY, M.A., FELLOW OF LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD. Signed below portrait, *Green, Liverpool.* On the other side, within a scroll work, on which is a copy of Watts's Hymns and small medallions of the repentance of S. Peter and the good Samaritan—LET YOUR CONVERSATION BE AS BECOMETH THE GOSPEL OF CHRIST. 2221

93. Jug, with portrait of William III. on horseback, with sword drawn and pointed forward; above the portrait, K. WILLIAM III. PRINCE OF ORANGE. On the other side, profile portrait of George III., and GEORGE III. KING OF GREAT BRITAIN. Under the spout, KING AND CONSTITUTION. H. 7¼in. 27.11.74.1

94. Large six-gallon jug, with painted yellow ground, the sides decorated with medallions, containing printed subjects, coloured. (1) TELLING FORTUNE IN COFFEE GROUNDS, and

Here's luck in the bottom dear Jane only see
My dream and my Coffee in a Wedding agree
But ah! my dear sister what fate me befall
I fear I can Wait for no wedding at all.

(2) THE ARCHERESS. (3) A SHIP COMING TO SPITHEAD, WITH A VIEW OF COWSE CASTLE. (4) RELIEVING GUARD IN A GARRISON. (5) EDWARD AND JULIA. (6) A lady under a willow, and

Let me O let me to the shades repair
My native shades, their weep and murmer there
She said and melting as in tears she lay
In a soft silver stream dissolv'd away.

(7) THE GIRL IN DANGER. (8) THE FARMERS' ARMS—IN GOD IS OUR TRUST—(with shield as on Nos. 52 &c.) The rest of the subjects are pastoral and racing. Said to be the pottery of Richard Abbey. H. 16½in. 2593

95. Mug, with view of an old man seated in a garden, holding up, in one hand, a jug of ale, labelled TOBY FILLPOT, and a pipe in his other hand, with the verse below :—

It Chanced in Dogdays he satt at his ease
In his Flower woven harbour as gay as you please
His breath doors of Life on a sudden were Shutt
And he died full as big as a Dorchester Butt.

The print is signed, *R. Abbey, Sculpt.* H. 4¾in. 32.12.74.1

96. Plate, with the grace NON NOBIS DOMINE, set as a musical round. The plate is marked *Wedgwood.* Dia. 9in. 3124

97. Jug, with view of two sportsmen with horses and greyhounds ; one of the sportsmen is holding up a hare by the hind legs. On the other side two men in discussion over a table, with two newspapers on the floor below them—the ORACLE and ARGUS. Below the print, THE POLITICIANS. This is probably a late print. H. 7½in. 9.12.80.20

98. Jug, with ship on one side, flying American flag ; on other side, view of Napoleon I., putting one foot upon Germany in the map of Europe, and holding the other foot ready to place elsewhere ; before him is John Bull, saying—I AX PARDON MASTER BONEY BUT AS WE SAY PAWS OF POMPEY, WE KEEP THIS LITTLE SPOT TO OURSELVES. YOU MUST NOT DANCE HERE MASTER BONEY. Napoleon is saying, AH YOU TAM JOHN BULL YOU HAVE SPOIL MY DANCE, YOU HAVE RUIN ALL MY PROJETS. Below the print is—THE GOVERNOR OF EUROPE STOPED IN HIS CAREER. H. 6½in. 18.7.79.4

Tiles decorated with Printed Subjects.

The documents published by Mr. Mayer, respecting the invention of printing upon pottery by John Sadler, give a description of the decoration of these tiles, which were made for chimney pieces, and some of which have been taken during recent years from the fire places of old Liverpool houses. From Mr. Mayer's MSS. it is clear that some of the tiles were made by Wedgwood, and sent to Green to be printed ; others were probably made at the various Liverpool potteries. They are, as a rule, about five

inches square. Many of the prints are interesting, and some are very nicely executed. I have grouped the subjects in the following manner :—

Local Subjects.

99. Tile, with the arms and insignia of The Honourable Society of Bucks. In the centre a buck on a shield, with a plough above, and INDUSTRY PRODUCETH WEALTH ; below the shield, FREEDOM WITH INNOCENCE. On either side the shield a supporter, with staff surmounted by buck's head, and on their belts, BE MERRY, and, AND WISE ; also a mace on the right hand and sword on the left of the shield. Below, an illustration of Æsop's fable of the Bundle of Sticks, and around, UNANIMITY IS THE STRENGTH OF SOCIETY, on either side of this a buck, and WE OBEY. Signed *J. Sadler . . . (Liverpool?)*. This subject is also on the enamel No. 129. In the *Liverpool Advertiser* for 9th July, 1756, is the following notice :—"By order of the Grand, "the Honourable Society of Bucks are hereby required to attend "at Mr. Banner's, the Golden Fleece Inn in Dale Street, on "Wednesday next. In Williamson's *Liverpool Advertiser* for July 21st, 1769, the following advertisement occurs :—"Liverpool, "21 July, 1769. The Anniversary Meeting of the Society of Bucks "will be at the Usual Place, on Tuesday next, the 25th Inst., "where the BRETHEREN are desired to attend. W. W., Secretary. "Dinner to be on the Table at Two o'clock." Amongst the Holt and Gregson papers, (vol. xxiv., p. 353), are the following memorandums under date 1760 :—"January 15. The Tradesmen's "Club at the Neptune's Coffee House remitted twelve pounds to "Sir Joseph Hankeys to be applied towards the Cloathing and "rewarding the British Troops in Germany." "February 8th. "The Honourable Society of Bucks subscribed Eighty Guineas "to be applied to the same purpose." The writer has attempted recently to gain further information respecting some of these local societies.* See the *Liverpool Daily Post*, *Mercury*, and *Courier*, for 5th November, 1881 ; and *Notes and Queries*, 6th Series, vol. iv., p. 467. 2232

100. Tile, with printed design ; in centre, a shield, with two spotted dogs above a band, on which is a hare and two birds, and below, a huntsman riding : above the shield, a falling bird, and on either side the shield, a sportsman with gun, one of whom is aiming at the falling bird. Below the shield is a sportsman

* In the collection of Mr. A. W. Franks, F.S.A., of the British Museum, are two bowls, one with a portrait of *Capt. Farmer*, and the legend—MARINE SOCIETY ; the other decorated with Liverpool-printed subjects, and inside a large figure of a cat *painted*, and the legend around—THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY ; PRO MATRIA. In the "Annals of Liverpool," in *Gore's Directory*, it is mentioned under date 1789, that the Marine Society was established on January 20th.

holding a net, and a dog driving a covey of birds. In the corners of the tile are sporting emblems—bag, horn, birds, hare, fox, and cocks. 2232

Actors and Actresses.

The writer is indebted to Mr. Soden Smith, of the South Kensington Art Library, for the sight of a small work, entitled "Dramatic Characters, or Different Portraits of the English Stage "in the days of Garrick, &c. Printed for Robt. Sayer and Co., "Fleet Street, London." This work is made up of portraits of actors and actresses identical with those on the Liverpool tiles. The following examples are in the Mayer Museum:—"Mrs. Hartley "as Lady Jane Grey." "Mr. Lewis in the character of Douglas." "Mrs. Lessingham in the character of Ophelia." "Mr. Moody "in the character of Teague." Representation of a man having his hair powdered by a coiffeur, from "A six weeks' tour to Paris." Representation of a negro harlequin standing between two ladies, who have taken off his mask, and are disappointed to find his colour.

Scripture Subjects.

The Woman of Samaria. David and Goliath.

Æsop's Fables.

The Wolf and the Lamb. The Lark and her Young Ones. The Cock and the Fox. The Wolf, the Lamb, and the Goat. The Lioness and the Fox. The Ape and the Fox. The Dog in the Manger. The Crow and the Pitcher. The Dog and the Sheep. The Fox and the Crow. The old Hound. The Fox and the Stork. Mercury and the Woodman. The Travellers and the Bear. The Boar and the Ass. The Trees and the Woodman. The hunted Beaver. The Shepherd and the young Wolf. Also, one representing a Sow and a Dog facing one another in a farm yard.

Satires.

The Pluralist and Old Soldier. From a satirical plate of Tim Bobbin's. See "Human Passions Delineated," plate 39. 2234

The Squire and Agent calling for the Rent, and the Farmer pleading that his wife is *enceinte*, and his lamb dead. 28.12.74.7

The remainder of the subjects may be classed as follows :— "Landscapes with classical ruins," of which there are several. "Domestic scenes." "Marine subjects"—a ship, and Jack on shore. "Fortune Telling"—three distinct examples. "Field "Sports"—hawking, shooting, fishing, &c. "Music and Danc- "ing and Games"—blindman's-buff, blowing soap bubbles, &c. "Shepherds and Shepherdesses." "Love-making." Also, a number of miscellaneous designs.

Green Vase Tiles.

These tiles are mentioned in the invoices from Mr. Green to Mr. Wedgwood, published by Mr. Mayer. The subjects are of no interest.

Specimens of Liverpool Porcelain.

None of these examples of early Liverpool porcelain bear manufacture marks, such as are borne by the Chelsea or Worcester, or Bristol wares, so that the only means of identifying these pieces with their manufacturers have been the traditions attached to certain pieces which have been retained in the families of the makers. This mode of identification, however, is not always to be relied upon, for some of the examples said to have been made in Liverpool are of undoubted Oriental fabric. Still, these local family traditions are of great importance, and amount to almost positive evidence, when supported by other outside considerations. In Mr. J. E. Nightingale's *Contributions towards the History of Early English Porcelain*, p. lxvi. is the following allusion to Liverpool porcelain :—"I have only found one allusion to Liverpool porcelain. In a sale held by Mr. Christie at Petersfield, in March, 1769, the following occurs :— Three bottles and two bowls of Liverpool china, 8s."

PENNINGTON'S PORCELAIN.

101. Set of beakers and jars for the mantelpiece, in porcelain ; painted with blue decoration under the glaze, and with bunches

of flowers of various colours over it. There are also traces of gilding. These were purchased by Mr. Mayer from Miss Pennington, of Everton Terrace, in 1854, daughter of Pennington, the potter. H. 11½in. 2384.2389-90

102. Jug, in porcelain, with raised flowered decoration, and small landscapes and edge patterns, printed in blue, under the glaze. Presented by Mr. C. L. Pennington, and known by him to be the manufacture of his uncle, Seth Pennington. H. 9⅜in.

103. Jug, in porcelain, with raised ornamentation on the spout, and a mythological landscape of a man seated in a garden, with women bringing to him various plants, painted in blue under the glaze. Presented by Mr. C. L. Pennington, and known by him to be the manufacture of his uncle, Seth Pennington. H. 11in. 21.10.75.1

104. Pair of blue and white pickle dishes, in porcelain. Presented by Mr. C. L. Pennington, and known by him to be the manufacture of his uncle, Seth Pennington. 22.4.75.2

105. Punch-bowl, in porcelain, with painting in blue, under the glaze; inside, a ship, and under it—SUCCESS TO THE WILL. R. BIBBY 1783. And, outside, a landscape on river or sea-shore. Said to have been presented by the African merchants to Captain R. Bibby, and to be the porcelain of Pennington. Dia. 9½in. 2560

106. Punch-bowl, in porcelain, with painting, in blue, under glaze. Inside, a ship, and under it—1779 SUCCESS TO THE ISSABELLA. (See Williamson's *Advertiser*, 27th July, 1786). Outside is a marine landscape, with two men, one seated on an anchor, with punchbowl on his knee, and sword in his hand, and the other on a barrel, with pistol in his hand. Between them is a chest labelled—"Spanish Gold," and on one side, a cap of Liberty on a sword, and on the other two flags flying from a pole. Said to be the porcelain of Pennington. Dia. 8½in. 2561

107. Punch-bowl, in porcelain, painted in blue, under glaze, with ship inside; a whaler, with men out in boats, killing the whales, represented spouting. Underneath is—SUCCESS TO THE POLAR STAR CAPT. THOS. WILLSON. Probably the porcelain of Pennington.* Dia. 9½in. 29.4.75.7

CHAFFERS' PORCELAIN.

108. Pepper-box, in porcelain, with—RICHARD CHAFFERS 1769 round it, painted in blue, under the glaze. Given to Mr. Mayer by Mr. Chaffers' grandson, John Rosson, Esq., of Moor Hall, Ormskirk, in 1854. H. 2¼in. 2261

* In the possession of Mr. Crompton, of Bootle, is a porcelain bowl, with ship inside, and the legend—SUCCESS TO THE KING PRUSHA.

109. Cup, in porcelain, with Chinese figure, standing before a fire, with vessel upon it; painted in colours, over the glaze. Given to Mr. Mayer by Mr. Rosson, as No. 108. 2262

110. Jug, in porcelain, with portrait of Frederick the Great, and trophies of arms outside; and the Prussian Eagle and another trophy, and sprig of flowers inside; all painted over the glaze. Given to Mr. Mayer by Charles Chandos Pole, Esq., descendant of a member for Liverpool during the last century. H. 7¼in. 2260

111. Bowl and cup, in porcelain, painted with flowers. Said to be the porcelain of Chaffers. 2267.2270

112. Punch-bowl, in porcelain, with painting in blue, under the glaze. Inside, a ship, and below it—SUCCESS TO THE MOLLY CAPT BIBBY. Outside, flowers, &c. Said to have been presented by the African merchants to Captain Bibby, and to be the porcelain of Chaffers. See *Gore's Directory*, "Annals of Liverpool," 1767. "To be sold by the candle, 23rd August, the hull of Snow Molly. N.B.—Three young men slaves to be sold at the same time." *Vide Smithers' History*. See also *Williamson's Advertiser*, 30th October, 1778. Dia. 9¾in. 2586

113. Two punch-bowls, in oriental porcelain, with bunches and festoons of flowers, painted over the glaze, outside. Given by Miss Mather to Mr. Mayer, and supposed to be the porcelain of Chaffers, but there is no English fabric of this character. 2564.2566

PORCELAIN OF PHILIP CHRISTIAN.

114. Two punch-bowls, in oriental porcelain. These were said to be the porcelain of Philip Christian, but they are of undoubtedly oriental porcelain. On one (No. 2563), is painted in gilt, over the glaze—CAPTAIN JOSEPH GIBSON THE ESTHER OF HARRINGTON. Harrington is in Cumberland. This bowl was given to Mr. Mayer by Alexander O. Gibson, Esq., of Bebington, and is said to have been presented by the merchants of St. Petersburg to Captain Joseph Gibson. 2562.3

115. Pair of Teapoys, in porcelain, with oriental figures, &c., painted in colours over the glaze. Said to be Christian's porcelain. H. 4⅞in. 2283

116. Coffee-pot, in porcelain, with oriental designs, figures, &c., painted over the glaze. Said to be the porcelain of Christian. 2275

117. Teapot, in porcelain, of a different paste to the above examples, with transfer printed designs. On one side a pastoral scene, signed "Sadler, Liverpl," and on the other a bunch of

flowers. On the lid, birds and a butterfly. Said to be the porcelain of Christian. 2298

118. Group of teapots, cups and saucers, all said to be the porcelain of Philip Christian. 2263, 2277, 2279, 2284, 2285 2287, 2291. 2293, 2295, 2396

119. Cup and saucer and plate, in porcelain, decorated with "bat printed" domestic designs, in pink. 2299

PORCELAIN OF ZACHARIAH BARNES.

120. Dish, in porcelain, with oriental design after the willow pattern style, printed under the glaze. Given to Mr. Mayer by Mrs. Wedgwood, daughter of Mr. Barnes, and known to be his manufacture. 2227

PORCELAIN MADE AT THE HERCULANEUM POTTERY.

121. Tea and coffee service, with medallions of landscapes and figures, very finely painted in colours over the glaze; executed by Samuel Williams, landscape painter, for Thomas Griffiths, miniature painter. 2538

122. Vase, with silhouette profile portrait of George III., round which is—AN HONEST MAN'S THE NOBLEST WORK OF GOD. 2537

123. Plaque, in porcelain, with landscape and figures of Adam and Eve painted upon it, illustrating lines from Milton. On the back is the quotation from Milton, and the signature, *W. Lovatt Nov.* 1817. 4515

124. Two plaques, in porcelain, with scenes painted in colours upon them, one illustrating Telemachus being conducted by Mentor to the Isle of Calypso, and the other, Telemachus relating his advent to Calypso, the Goddess of Silence. Painted by J. Edwards. 4513-4

EXAMPLES OF LIVERPOOL PORCELAIN: PARTICULAR MANUFACTURE UNKNOWN.

125. Mug, in porcelain, with coloured painted portrait of George III. (?) painted in front, and on either side the arms and insignia of the Society of Bucks, printed and coloured as given on the tile No. 99, and the enamel No. 129. H. 3⅝in. 1496

126. Jug, in porcelain, with Brewers' Arms printed in front, as given on No. 50. H. 6in. 1419

127. Jug, in porcelain, with bunches of flowers and butterflies painted over the glaze. This specimen has been considered of

Liverpool make, on account of the paste and the form of the spout and handle. 1405

Liverpool Enamels.

128. Oval medallion, of enamel on copper, with printed portrait of George II. and trophy of arms. 5½in. × 4⅜in. 3102

129. Oval medallion, of copper, covered with white enamel, upon which is a transfer print of the arms of the Honourable Society of Bucks. See No. 99. 5⅛in. × 4½in. 3100

130. Oval medallion, of enamel on copper, with printed portrait of Frederick the Great, below which is—FREDERICK III. KING OF PRUSSIA. DONE FROM AN ORIGINAL PAINTED AT BERLIN IN 1756. J. SADLER LIVERP^L. ENAM^L. "Frederick III." should of course be "Frederick II." 5½in. × 4⅜in.

131. Oval medallion, of enamel on copper, with printed portrait of William Pitt. Below the portrait—THE RIGHT HON^BLE W^M PITT, ESQ^R ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARIES OF STATE. AND ONE OF HIS MOST HON^BLE PRIVY COUNCIL. J. SADLER LIVERP. ENAM^L. 5⅝in. × 4½in. 29.9.81.1

Portraits of the Liverpool Potters.

132. Portrait, in oil-colour, of Richard Chaffers, potter, of Liverpool, who died about 1770. Painted by Thomas Chubbard, of Liverpool. 4502

133. Portrait, in oil-colour on metal plate, of Seth Pennington the potter, of Shaw's Brow, Liverpool. Presented by his nephew, Mr. C. L. Pennington, 1875. 22.4.75.1

134. Portrait, in water-colour on paper, of Guy Green, potter, of Liverpool. On the back is written—PAINTED BY WM. DIXON LIVERPOOL, 1801. With this portrait came an old ivory paper knife, inscribed GUY GREEN LIVERPOOL. 13.5.80.1—2

EXTRACTS FROM THE REGISTERS OF THE NON-CONFORMIST CHAPEL, DUKINFIELD, KEPT BY THE REV. SAMUEL ANGIER, 1677 TO 1713.

By J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A.

(Read 24th February, 1881.)

THE Chapel at Dukinfield, in the parish of Stockport, co. Chester, is one of the oldest places of worship belonging to the Nonconformists in Cheshire or Lancashire. The earliest trace of any body of Nonconformists at Dukinfield is in 1644, when Colonel Robert Dukinfield, the celebrated Parliamentarian commander, gave up the chapel attached to Dukinfield Hall, to the Congregationalists, or Independents, as they were then called, to whose views he then very strongly leaned. The first ministers here were Samuel Eaton and Timothy Taylor, who in 1645 style themselves respectively "Teacher and Pastor of the Church in Dukinfield in Cheshire," the former being selected for his ability in public preaching and the latter for pastoral work. Thomas Edwards, the author of *Gangræna*, writing in 1645 or 6, referring to this chapel, says of it—"This Church of *Duckingfield* is the "first Independent church, visible and framed, that was set up in "*England*, being before the Apologists came from *Holland*, and "so before their setting up their churches here in *London*."

Of Samuel Eaton, who was a distinguished man and a somewhat voluminous author, an account, with a full list of his controversial writings, will be found in *East Cheshire*, vol. ii., pp. 28-35. He was the son of the Rev. Richard Eaton, vicar of Great Budworth, in Cheshire, and was educated at Oxford. He was first beneficed at West Kirby, near Liverpool, but was there suspended, in 1631, by Dr. Bridgeman, bishop of Chester, and fled to Holland, whence he returned to England, and from there went to New England, in America, in 1637. He returned to England in 1640, and on Sunday, January 3rd, 1640-1, preached

at St. John's Church, Chester, and subsequently at Knutsford and other places. Before 1645 he appears to have settled at Dukinfield, and although he was for some little time chaplain to the Parliamentary garrison at Chester, he returned to Dukinfield or Stockport, and died at Bredbury in 1665. His frequent absences at Chester and other causes brought about dissensions in the congregation at the chapel at Dukinfield Hall, and they removed to Stockport, and Calamy states that Eaton preached for some years in the old school-house there, till he was suspended by the Act of Uniformity in 1662. By his will, dated Dec. 12th, 1664, he left money legacies to the chief Nonconformist clergy in Lancashire and Cheshire, and also to his nephew Theophilus, son of his brother Theophilus Eaton, the first governor of New Haven in America.*

After Samuel Eaton's death it is most probable that his followers attended the ministrations of the celebrated John Angier, at Denton Chapel in Lancashire, until the death of the latter in 1677. Mr. Angier had been assisted during the latter years of his life by his nephew, the Rev. Samuel Angier, whom he had hoped would ultimately have succeeded him at Denton. Disputes, however, arose about the chapel there, and in the end a conformist minister was appointed, and Mr. Angier settled at Dukinfield (separated only from Denton by the river Mersey), and about 1681 began to hold services and preach there, as is thus stated in his Register—"1681, May 29, Father Angier preached first in a "building near his house." His congregation increasing rapidly, he found it necessary in 1686 to make use of a large barn; and some five years after this event he thus records it in his Register—"1691 Mm^d^ that I began to preach in my Barn Oct. 10 1686 "which was 5 years compleat yesterday and this 11^th^ of Oct. 1691 "begins y^e^ 6^th^." It would appear that this barn had to serve him for the next twenty years or more, as it was not till the year 1708 that the first chapel was built at Dukinfield. It is, however, most probable that Nonconformist services were held in the chapel at Dukinfield Hall, as the members of the Dukinfield

* *East Cheshire*, vol. ii., p. 33.

family were Nonconformists, and there are frequent references to them in Mr. Angier's Register.

In the year 1707 Sir Robert Dukinfield, of Dukinfield, Bart., by a deed dated 4th April in that year, the original of which is now in my possession, granted to certain trustees,* all duly named, "a plot of land lying near Hall Green in Dukinfield, together "with the Chappell or Meeting place, stables, structures, or any "edifices or buildings which shall or may be erected thereon," to be held in trust "*for the use of a Protestant Presbyterian Minister "of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, Dissenting from the "Church of England*," who was to be "called, elected, and "approved" by "the major part of the Brethren who are com- "municants of that congregation that there do usually attend." Mr. Angier continued to officiate in this Chapel till his death in 1713, but since then, it, like so many other similar foundations, has passed from the hands of the Presbyterians to those of the Unitarians, but is now, I believe, owned by the Independents, who purchased it when a new Unitarian Chapel was erected some few years since.

The Register which Mr. Angier commenced, and from which the following voluminous extracts are taken, is one of much interest. Not only are there the usual entries relating to the births, marriages, and deaths of the local Nonconformists of the neighbourhood of Stockport, Dukinfield, Denton, and Ashton-under-Lyne, but there are also numerous entries relating to the chief local gentry in that district, together with many references to Mr. Angier's own kindred and to the Nonconformist ministers, whom he knew either personally or by repute. Thus there are many entries relating to the Dukinfields of Dukinfield Hall, the Hydes of Hyde and Norbury, the Ardernes of Harden Hall, all well-known Cheshire families, and also to the Hydes of Denton, the Ashtons of Shepley, and other Lancashire families of good social position. With regard to Nonconformist ministers, he

* These were Robert Dukinfield, of Manchester, gent., [the eldest son of Sir Robert by his second wife], Samuel Leigh, of Dukinfield, yeoman, James Beswick, of Dukinfield, tailor, John Kenworthey, of Staley, and Thomas Turner, of Godley, yeomen, John Thorneley, of Hyde, yeoman, John Wright, Joshua Taylor, and William Walker, son of John Walker, all of Ashton under Lyne, yeomen.

chronicles the death of Richard Baxter in 1691, of Nathaniel Hulton in 1693, of Henry Pendlebury and Henry Newcome in 1695, Richard Frankland in 1698, Robert Constantine in 1699, William Bagshaw and Oliver Heywood in 1702, and John Chorlton in 1705.

Towards the latter end of his life, Mr. Angier entered into his Register any facts of public interest which particularly struck him, or which had an additional interest to him as bearing upon the Nonconformists. These, which were chiefly taken from the printed news-letters and papers of the period, are in many cases quaint and curious; but I have not devoted much attention to them, as they mainly relate to well-known facts in English History. Some, however, such as the details of the battles of Marlborough in Flanders and elsewhere, show how interested the people in the country were in what was taking place abroad.

It would appear that he commenced this Register at Denton, whilst assisting his uncle, the Rev. John Angier, there, and at the time 1677, when, probably owing to his uncle's illness, he had sole charge of the congregation there. Thus he enters his uncle's death on September 1, 1677, and he appears to have continued officiating either at Denton or the neighbourhood before he finally settled at Dukinfield. The following names are those occurring, more or less frequently, in this Register:—Travis, Haughton, Wild, Torkinton, Lowe, Hudson, Worthington, Robinson, Lees, Higginbothom, Jacques, Shepley, Hurst, Hyde of Haughton, Sandiforth, Gee of Gee Cross, Bennison of the Lume, in Ashton parish, Stopport, Cheetham of Duckenfield, Cocker of Staley, Cook, Wooley of Mottram, Wagstaffe, Bruckshaw, Slater, Leigh, Axon, Grime, Thorneley, Bardsley, Kinder, Collier, Walker, &c. The area from which Mr. Angier's congregation came was a very large one, embracing portions of the parishes of Ashton-under-Lyne and Manchester in Lancashire, Glossop in Derbyshire, and Mottram-in-Longdendale and Stockport in Cheshire, and it is very desirable that this should be remembered, as there are many entries in this volume which might be sought for in vain in any of the registers relating to the above-named parishes.

Extracts from the volume, entitled "A Register of Christenings from August 1677 and of some Marriages and Funerals."

August 12 & 28 B[orn] & Bap. — John son of S^r Robert Dukenfield of Dukenfield in y^e Parish of Stockport & County Palatine of Chester and his lady Jane was born August y^e twelfth and Baptizid August 28 1677

Dyed 15 Bur. 17 — Jonathan Thornely of Backbouer dyed August 15^th and was buried y^e 17^th

Sept. 1 Dyed Bur. 3 — The Rever^d M^r John Angier of Denton Pastor of the Congregation above fourty five years departed this life Sept. 1 and was buried Sept. 3 1677 aged almost 72 y^rs being baptizid October 5^th 1605

Novemb. 23 Died 26 Bur. — M^r Abel Oldham died at Beekham Nov. 23^rd buried y^e 26^th

Jan. 17 Died Feb. 17 Bur. — Col. John Dukenfield at Brackens, Essex. Col. John Dukenfield was buried in Denton Chappell

March 14 Bap. — Elizabeth daughter of M^r John Jolly and Alice his wife was baptized y^e 14^th buried 29^th

22 Bap. — Mary daughter of Roger Williamson of Glasshouse fold and Mary his wife was baptized March 22 1677 [-8]

1678

June 21 Died — M^r Edge a minister near Chelford died

July 4 [Born] — Henry son of Sir John Arderne and his lady Margaret was born July y^e fourth

[July] 9 Bap. — Anna daughter of John Shepley of Lume near Hyde and Elizabeth his wife was baptized July 9^th M^md She died June 22 1696

August 19 Died — The Lady Jane Dukenfield died and as was supposed her child with her not born.

Cousin Anne Crowther and Tho: Butterworth married at Wimsloe [Wilmslow in Cheshire] April 18 1678

August 20 Mar[ried] 1679 — Col. Robert Dukenfield and M^rs Judith Bothomley were married

January 6 Mar[ried] — M^r Barber married to M^rs Mary Duckenfield y^e 6^th

—— 8 — M^rs Katherine Brookes married to M^r Clopton y^e 8^th

1680

Aprill 18 . . . . [and] Francis son[s] of Robert Duckenfield *alias* Rob^{t} Franks both baptized y^{e} 18th

December 1. 2. —— 4 M^{r} Robert son of Sir Robert Duckenfeild and heir apparent died y^{e} 1st buried y^{e} 2nd

M^{r} Robert Hyde only son and heir of M^{r} Robert Hyde of Hyde banck dyed y^{e} 4th buried y^{e} 7th

—— 6 Dyed Bur. 9 Madam Beresford eldest daughter of S^{r} John Ardern buried y^{e} 9th

Feb. 22 George son of M^{r} George Hirst of Bredbury and Sarah his wife (y^{e} first born son of y^{m} both) was baptized y^{e} 22nd

1681

March 30 Dyed M^{rs} Eaton widow of M^{r} Sam^{l} Eaton dyed at Stopport and was buried at Denton April y^{e} 2^{d}

Novemb. 1 Anne daughter of Samuel Angier of Duckenfeild and Anne his wife was baptised y^{e} first day. She was born Octob. 28. Died March 11 1727-8

Nov. 20 Dyed Alice y^{e} wife of M^{r} Harpur of Stockport

In another part of this Register is a further series of entries and memoranda for this year.

1681 March 21 A Parliament sat at Oxon and was dissolved y^{e} Monday following being y^{e} 28

„ May 29 Father Angier preached first in a building near his house

„ June 11 Brother Jno Blanchard of York was buried the following [day] sister Margaret was delivered of a son viz. [the] 13th

„ Oct 25 John son of Ralph and Sarah Cooper their first born y^{e} mother 44 years old and over

„ Nov. 1 Anne d. of Samuel and Anne Angier of Dukenfield baptizd born Oct. 28 3 quarters past one in the morning

1682

Aprill M^{r} W^{m} Holland of Heaton dyed y^{e} 25th of Aprill 1682

June 19 M^{r} John Jolly of Gorton was buried y^{e} 19th at Oldham

August 22 Benjamin son of Robert Duckenfeild of Duckenfeild Esquire and Judith his wife was baptised y^{e} twenty second day of August

March 3 M^{r} Raph Ardern buried

1683 [1682-3] March John son of Robert Duckenfeild alias Franckes and Mary his wife baptised March first

1683
Aug. 7 Sir Robert Duckenfeild and [his] Lady were married

Feb. 14 Mr Tho : Hydes wife of Hyde buried

1684
Aprill 4 Mr Hyde of Denton aged about 80 years departed this life, buryed ye 7th

—— 7 Mrs Hyett [? Huet] of Kilshaw [Culcheth] dyed buried ye 10th

June 6 Frances daughter of Sr Robt Dukenfield and his Lady Susanna was born May 31st being Satturday near ten a clock at night and baptised Fryday June ye sixth

—— 24 Martha daughter of Coll: Robt Duckenfield of Duckenfield Esq. & Judith his wife was baptised ye 24th of June 1684

Sept 26 Dr Cart dyed

Octob. 5 Dyed Cousin Anne Eaton

1685
Mary d. of Sr Robert Duckenfield was born the 29 of June baptized July . . . .

1686
August 9th Anne daughter of Sr Robert Duckenfield and his Lady Susan was borne July 27 Baptised the ninth of August 1686

March 2 Phebe daughter of Alderman Robt Dodge of Bosne [Bosden] in Stockport parish and Elizabeth his wife was baptized March 2 1686-7

1687
July 18 Robert son of Sr Robert Dukenfield of Dukenfield Bart and his Lady Susanna was born Thursday July 7th Baptised July ye 18 1687

Sept 25 Lord's Day in Publick ye first in Publick — Robert son of Robert Booth of Woodley and Mary his wife was baptised in my Publick Meeting place Sept. the twenty fifth being Lord's Day

Dec. 28 Bur. Jan. 2 1687-8 — Mrs. Anne Hyde of Hyde grandmother of Edward Hyde Esquire [died] about 12 o'clock at noon. She was buried at Stockport Jan. 2

1688.
March 25 John Shepley of Lume in Hyde dyed

Aprill 17 married Mr Thomas Irlam and Sarah Travis married Aprill the seaventeenth

June 3 Samuel son of Henry Hardman of Droilsden and Elizabeth his wife was baptised June

y^e 3^rd being Whit-s[unday]. [In pencil, Rev. Sam^l Hardman]

Sept. 17^th — Joseph son of S^r Robert Dukenfield and his Lady Susanna was born Sept. 6 about noon and baptised September 17^th 1688

Dec. 18 — The 18^th at night dyed Old M^rs Asheton of Shepley after a tedious old age

Jan. 18 1689. — Mrs. Grace Hyde was buried

Crowned 11 [April] — King William and Queen Mary were crowned the eleventh day of Aprill 1689

May 7 Married — Reginald Hollingworth of y^e Rowe Crosse & Elizabeth Bretland, both of Moteram in Longdendale were married May y^e seventh

May 24 — The King gave his Royal Assent to y^e Bill of Indulgence to Protestant Dissenters

Bur. 6 and 16 — M^r Jo^n Asheton of Shepley was buried y^e 6^th of August, his wife the 16^th of August, his son Rob^t July 23^rd last

Born and Bapt. — Susanna daughter of S^r Robert Duckenfield Bar^t and the Lady Susanna his wife was born Sept. 3 baptized the thirteenth of September 1689

[Sept] 18 [and] 21 — Colonel Robert Dukenfield Esq^r dyed Sept 18^th was buried Sept y^e 21 at Denton Chap^ll

Mm^d. That his first wife dyed Octob: 2^d and was buried 6^th 1669

Memorandum. — That so great snow fell Jan. 11^th [1689-90] and after and so great a storm y^t many were lost. Some say about 40 in Salford Hundred. One Rob^t Garside near Moteram. Few at Chappell for 2 Lords dayes

Bur. at Manch[ester] — Mr. Guilliam was buryed Jan. 29^th

1690.

March 25 Bapt. — Judith daughter of Collonell Rob^t Duckenfield Esq. deceased and Judith his relict was born March 12^th Baptized March 25^th

Aprill 23 Bur. — M^r Jonathan Pickford of Alt Hill was buried. He dyed 20^th in y^e morning but a quarter past 12 at night

May 1 and 5 — M^rs Anne Hyde eldest daughter of Robert Hyde of Denton Esq^r dyed May 1^st between 6 & 7 in y^e morning and was buryed May y^e fifth

July 6 dyed — Mrs. Crew, S^r John's [Arderne's] mother dyed July 6, 1690 very aged buried July 8^th

July 24 — Dyed Anne y^e^ Dear wife of Samuel Angier of Dukenfield. Buried at Manchester July 26

August 3 bapt. — Jonathan son of John Cheetham of Dukinfield and Debora his wife was baptised Aug 3 by M^r^ R. Eaton

August 20 dyed — Cousin Thomas Asheton of Shepley bur. 22

Sept 5. — Cousin W^m^ Butterworth son of Tho: Butterworth and Cousin Anne his wife [was] buried Sept 5

Alice d. of Edward Holland of Denton & ..... his wife baptized y^e^ 7^th^ of Sept

Sept 11. — Robert Hyde son of Robert Hyde of Denton and Elizabeth daughter of Robert Hardy of Haughton were joyned in marriage September the eleventh being Thursday 1690

Oct. 12 Bap. — Aaron son of John Haughton of Haughton Milner of Harding Miln & Esther his wife was bapt. Oct 12 1690

N.B.—Samuel and John both born on one day their mothers being sisters viz. Nov 26 1690. [This refers to Samuel son of Joseph Torkinton of Haughton and Jane his wife and John son of John Gee of Gee Cross and Eleanor his wife, they were both baptized 7 December.]

Jan 12 1691 — Nathaniel son of S^r^ Robert Duckenfield & his Lady Susannah was born Jan. first about 12 at night and baptized Jan. 12^th^ 1690

May 31 Dyed — M^r^ Heywood of Taunton dyed after [a] long and painfull affliction for 44 weekes & one day he began July 26 last year w^ch^ time my dearest was buried

June 8 Married — M^r^ John Byrom Minister of the Gospell in y^e^ Parish of Prestbury & M^rs^ Mary Booth of Denton in y^e^ Parish of Manchester were joyned in marriage June 8^th^ 1691

June 21, 24 — Mary y^e^ wife of Rob^t^ Sweetlove dyed y^e^ 21 & was buried at Leigh in Lancash : y^e^ 24

Aug 30 Dyed — Sarah y^e^ 2^nd^ wife of Alderman George Hirst of Adswood dyed August 30^th^ was buried at Stockport September 2^nd^ 1691

Sept. 13 — Ralph son of Thomas Rile of Gorsehall in Duckenfield and Elizabeth his wife was born Sept 6 and baptized Sept 13 1691

Mm^d^—That I began to preach in my Barn Oct 10 1686 which was 5 years compleat yesterday and this 11^th^ of Oct 1691 begins y^e^ 6^th^

Dec 8 Dyed y^e^ famous M^r^ Rich^d^ Baxter y^e^ 8^th^ day

Dec 29 Nicolas Wagstaffe of Moteram and Martha Loton of Moteram were joyned in Matrimony Dec 29

1691-2 March 21 Jane daughter of S^r^ Robert Dukenfield and y^e^ Lady Susannah his wife was born March 16^th^ about one in y^e^ morning & baptized March 21 1691-2

1692
Aprill 14 Alderman Winterbotham of Hodgehole was married to a 2^cd^ wife. His former wife dyed Sept 16 1691 y^e^ 2^nd^ Sept 6 1694

May 17 Married Joseph Leech of Newton near Manchester and Alice Jolly a widower and widow were joyned in marriage May y^e^ 17^th^ 1692

M^r^ Jo^h^ Leaver of Bolton dyed y^t^ night [?July 3]

Aug 29 Dyed Elizabeth Warren

March 5 Esther y^e^ daughter of John Collier Jun^r^ of Newton and Elizabeth his wife was baptized March y^e^ fifth 1692

1693
May 1 Bap. Sarah daughter of S^r^ Robert Dukenfield of Dukenfield Bart and y^e^ Lady Susanna his wife was borne Aprill 16^th^ last being Easter day and baptized May 1 1693

May 10 Mary daughter of Rob^t^ Heywood of Newton in Moteram parish in Longdendale & Elizabeth his wife was baptized May y^e^ tenth being a publick fast day 1693

May 15 Bur. M^r^ Hollingworth of Tinsale [? Tintwisle] dyed y^e^ 10^th^ and was buried May 15 1693

May 18 Dyed M^rs^ Ardern of Clayton Bridge dyed the 18^th^ of May 1693. Buried [the] 22^nd^

5^th^ June Bapt Mary y^e^ daughter of John Byrom of Stockport in Cheshire Minister of y^e^ Gospell and Mary his wife was born May 31 & baptized June y^e^ fifth 1693

July 10 & 12 Dyed & Buried } Alice Holland daughter of Adam Holland dyed at Hyde Hall in Cheshire

Sept 4 Dyed M^r^ Robert Chadwick of Manchester dyed suddenly & was buried y^e^ 7^th^

Mm.—That he went to Great Leaver on foot and returned to Strangeways walk near Manchester into which he had no sooner entered but he fell down and dyed in a short space Nobody with him when he fell. John 18. 11. The cap. &c. was M^r^ Newcomes text

Sept 29 Dyed D^r^. Shippen Parson of Stockport died—buried [there]

Novemb. 28 Dyed	Jane Rile of Gorse Hall dyed Nov. 28 Buried Dec. 1
Dec. 5 Bapt	Anne daughter of Edward Hyde of Hyde Esq was born Nov 28 & baptised by M^r^ Cooper Curat de Stockport December the fifth
Jan. 2	Dyed The right Honorable Earl of Warrington at London
—— 3	Dyed Good M^r^ Nathaniel Hulton of Newington green An Israelite indeed a true Nathaniel aged 71
Jan. 8	Dyed Alice Hyde of Denton
—— 22	Buried y^e^ wife of M^r^ Roger Baldwin a Minister of y^e^ Gospell
—— 22	Dyed y^e^ wife of D^r^ Wroe Warden of Manchester
—— 21	At night dyed Thomas only son of M^r^ Smith of Taunton
[Feb. or March]	Mm. This week one Francis Newton was drowned by new bridge
Drowned	M^rs^ Steel of Stockport was found in a Pit between Harden and Stockport in this month of March
1694	
Aprill 9	A son of M^r^ Bagshaw of Hucklow in Derbyshire climbing up a tree (an Ash) for a pys nest fell down and was killed with the fall, buried y^e^ 12^th^
April 29	M^r^ Saltonstall died at Hulm
Aug. 14	M^r^ Jo^n^ Molineux of Liverpool merc [merchant] and Madam Elizabeth Duckenfield were married by M^r^ William Nicols Rector of Stopport [Stockport]
Sept 5	M^r^ William Sidebothom of Butterworth End died y^e^ 5^th^, was buried y^e^ 7^th^
Sept 6. 8	Alderman Winterbothoms 2^nd^ wife dyed Sept. 6 buried y^e^ 8^th^
Octob. 28	Dyed Major Robert Thomson of Newington Green near London and was buried at Elsham Novemb. 10 1694
Nov. 15	Alderman Winterbothom of Hodge Hole was married to a young wife (aged 17 or 18) just 10 weeks after y^e^ death of his last wife
—— 22 Dyed	D^r^ John Tillotson dyed the 22 of November
Dec 27 or 28	Mary y^e^ 2^nd^, Queen of Great Britt: &c dyed of y^e^ Smallpox between 12 & one at night being Thursday night y^e^ 27 of December 1694 She was born Aprill 30^th^ 1662 Married to y^e^ Prince of Orange Novemb 4 1677 Crowned Apr. 1689 Much lamented by all Protestants

Jan 3 1694-5 Thomas son of Immanuel Smith of Taunton in y^e^ Parish of Asheton under Line & Mary his wife was baptized Jan 3^rd^ (This is a 2^nd^ son of y^t^ name)

March 5 Bapt. Mary daughter of John Shepley of y^e^ Lumme in Hyde and Ellen his wife was baptized March 5 '94

Mm^d^ y^t^ John and Ellen made a confession of their sins before several Xtian Neighbo^rs^

—— 5 Queen Mary was buried

1695

March 27 Dyed M^rs^ Constantine dyed y^e^ 27 and was buried y^e^ 29 at Oldham She was baptised Aprill 25 1629 and almost 66 years old Married 37 years ago

Aprill 6 D^r^ Bushby my Master at Westminster [school] near 40 years ago dyed Aprill 6 1695 being as y^e^ News letter saith 96 years old

Aprill 13 Robert Robinson aged 80 years y^e^ 8^th^ instant died in a Slate Pit at Staley through a wall falling into y^e^ pit which covered him He was found about an hour after

Mm^o^ That Robert Taylor of Hall Green was found dead in a Cole Pit in March last, having been wanting several weeks

May Dyed Daniel Booth coming out of a Cole Pit of 40 yards deep fell down from y^e^ top and died in y^e^ fall

May 28 Buried M^r^ James Newcome Grandson of M^r^ Hen Newcome of Manchester was buried in y^e^ new Chappell [there]

June 3 Bur. M^r^ Thomas Seargent son of M^r^ Tho: Seargent of Stand &c was buried June y^e^ 3^d^ at Prestwich

June 10 Bapt. Elizabeth (y^e^ 2^d^ of y^t^ name living) daughter of S^r^ Robert Duckenfield of Duckenfield Bart & y^e^ Lady Susanna his wife was born y^e^ twenty fifth of May and baptized June y^e^ tenth 1695 being S^r^ Roberts tenth child by this Lady

June 12^th^ dyed M^r^ Roger Baldwin a dissenting Minister, Preacher to a Congregation at Eccles. A worthy good man. His wife [dyed] Jan 22 1693

Dyed M^r^ Pendlebury an aged able Minister dyed the same week

June 19 Fast throughout the Nation

July 25 — Dyed Sr Edward Mosley, buried ye 31

Sept. 17 — The Reverend Mr Henry Newcome Minister almost 40 years at Manchester departed this life

[Sept] — Mr Mayo a worthy minister of London lately died

Jan. 6 — The wife of Mr Mark Goddard of Bristol dyed Jan. 6 1695 about seven in ye morn

1696

March 25 — Mr Seddon Minister at Bolton was interred March 25 96

May 22 — Mr Noah Kinsey Minister dyed at ye Chappel House at Denton May 21 was buried ye 22d

July 15 — James son of John Chorlton Minister of ye Gospel at Manchester and Hannah his wife was baptized in ye New Meeting Place July 15 1696

Sept 10 — Abraham son of Ralph Ainsworth [Howorth] of Warrington Minister of ye Gospell & Sarah his wife was born Sept 8 bapt 10th

Sept 22 — George Hirst of Duckenfield aged fourscore and more years [died]

Oct 21 — Reginald Hollinworth of Rowe Crosse dyed Oct 21 buried 24

July 24 Bur. — Abela Maria Oldham daughter of Mr Abel Oldham and Mary his wife was buried July 24

Oct 12 — William son of Sr Robert Dukenfield of Dukenfield Bart and his Lady Susanna was born Octob. 12th and bapt. ye 27th being Sr Roberts twenty first child as he was ye Ladys eleventh child

Nov 21 & 22 — John Cropper fell into a Coal pit was sorely bruised and died ye 22nd Its hoped he had some good in heaven

1697

Sept. 10 — The Peace concluded at Riswicke between England France Spain Netherlands &c.

Feb. 20 Died — Mr Samuel Angier of Toxteth Park Minister of ye Gospell died Feb. 20 was buried Wednesday ye 23d

[Feb.] Dyed — Mr Segar a dissenting minister about Blackburn in Lancashire died this month or lately

March 8 Died — Elizabeth ye youngest daughter of Sr Robert Dukenfield and his Lady Susannah died March 8 and was buried ye 9th in ye Chapell of ye house aged 2 years and almost 9 months. She was born May 25 1695 bapt. June 10 Died March 8 1697

1698

Aprill 11 Dyed — Martha daughter of Mrs Judith Duckenfield of Duckenfield buried Wednesday ye 13 of Aprill 1698

May 26 — Mr Travis Mr Isaac Worthington and six more were ordained at Rauthmell by Mr Franckland & others. I hear since that there were nine ordained

June — Mr Isaac Worthington was married in Yorkshire as I am informed. God blesse ye couple and make ym blessings to one another & to the church of God. Amen

June 21 Ordained — Mr Josiah Hargreaves, Mr John Ashe, Mr George Lowe, Mr William Bagshawe, Mr Toolow were ordained at the Chappell at Mawph near Chappel in ye Frith By Mr William Bagshaw, Samuel Angier, Mr Gamaliel Jones, Mr John Byrom, and Mr Joseph Eaton, many being present. God's name be praised for his presence with them yt ordained and ym yt were ordained that day

July 21 — Mr Holt & Mrs Hannah Taylor married July 21 1698

Aug. 2 — Mr William Warren of Salford died ye 31st of July was buried August 2nd

Mm. yt August 28 was my birthday, 59 years old I was yt Day

Sept. 29 — Charles Dukenfield Esqr and Mrs Mary Hollinshead were married Sept. 29 1698 Michaelmas day

Sept. 30 — The Revd Mr Richard Franckland of Rothmell in Craven Yorkeshire died aged about 67 A very great losse to ye Ch. of God

Oct. 23 Abel, Nov. 3 Deborah — Son and Daughter of John Wild of Wood Park in ye Parish of Asheton under line and Deborah his wife was born Oct. 23 baptized Novemb. 3rd at Greenacres by S. A. [Samuel Angier] who preached at ye exercise in yt meeting place Novemb. 3d 1698

Nov. 19 Buried — George Walklet a good old Xtian of Chisworth in Derbyshire buried ye 19th

Nov. 20 Died — Mr. John Molineux of Liverpool Merchant died ye 20th between eleven and twelve at noon

Mmd—That this year Harvest was so late yt much corn is not nor can be reaped but left to the Cattell, very much unsound, much abroad

in December, much unshorn after a deep snow and hard frost in November. All corn very dear about us, not so in other places. The like never known in these parts. Very much was marred in y^e^ Barn by heating. S^r^ Rob^t^ got in all his but Dec. 9 at night

Dec. 10 Samuel son of S^r^ Robert Duckenfield of Duckenfield Bart. and Susanna his Lady was born y^e^ 10^th^ of December between two and three a clock in y^e^ morning. Baptised December the twentyeth day 1698. Mm^d^—y^t^ this child is my Ladyes twelfth and S^r^ Rob^ts^ twenty-second child if his first Lady died with child as is supposed.

Mm^d^—M^r^ Richard . . . . of Liverpool aged 89 years died in November 1698

M^r^ John Weeks an aged Minister at Bristoll died also Nov. 23^rd^ both dissenting Ministers of great worth

Feb. 2 M^r^ Thomas Hodson of Macklesfield and M^rs^ Alice Hollingworth of Tintwistle were married

Octob. or Novemb. } M^rs^ Wilkinson wid: of D^r^ Hen. Wilkinson of Magdalen Hall Oxon died of y^e^ small pox at Dedham, Essex, about November last but a short time after her Daughter Burkit, who also died of y^t^ distemper and was buried

Oct. 2 1698 Bur. M^rs^ Burkit Oct. 2^nd^ day Lord's day night

1699

Aprill Died Hannah widdow of Cousin John Angier died y^e^ beginning of Aprill. She was the Daughter of M^r^ William Aspinall and married in New England came to England 1656 in y^e^ Spring and died I suppose at Wigan

May 3 Dyed Roger Files a Servant at Dukenfield died y^e^ 3^rd^ of May

Mm^d^—that he was employed to attend y^e^ wheel in Newton Wood side and no sooner set it going but whether through weakness of his head or bodily strength or through any slip of his foot is uncertain but he was killed by y^e^ wheel

M^r^ S^t^ Lob & D^r^ Bates died this Summer

May 1 Died —— 4 Bur. } The wife of M^r^ Samuel Lowe of Knutsford Min[ister] died May 1, was buried y^e^ 4^th^

June '99 — Mr Nath. Hulton nephew of worthy Mr Hulton of Newington Green died in Lancaster Castle being a Prisoner there

July 15 — Tidings came of ye death of the eldest son of Mr Robert Lever of Alkrington, who was killed by highway men near Highgate on his return to his father. He was set upon Tuesday July 18 [? 14] died ye next day His name Robert Lever

August 4 — The wife of John Hall of Hyde an Hat maker was buried August 4 1699

August 14 — Mr Francis Mosley fellow of ye College in Manchester dyed aged 69 yrs almost the last of yt generation

August 10 — Tidings came of ye death of Mr Offley aged 28 by a fall from his horse. A great losse of an hopefull young gentleman

Sept. 4 — Died Mr Bent, he died in August at ye New house in Denton, was buried Sept. 4

Oct. 1 — James son of James Lees of Ashton under Line Clock-maker and Dinah his wife was born Saturday ye 26 of August, bapt. Oct. 1

Ditto — Anne daughter of Peter Rile of Duckenfield and Napolina his wife, was born Sept. 13 early in ye morning and baptised also Oct. 1 1699

Mmd—yt she was born about break of day before ye Eclipse which was yt day and in ye Equinox

Oct. 16 Died — Mr Matthew Mead a worthy Minister of ye Gospell at Stepney near London, died as its said Oct. 16 1699

Oct. 25 Died — Robert Hyde of Denton Esq. died at Middleton buried on Saturday ye 28th of October

Dec. 1 Bur. — Mr Harvey a Minister at Chester was buried aged about 67

Dec. 12 Died — Mr Sandford of Dane Street died on his way from Manchester near his own house, bur. ye 15th

Dec. 14 Died — Mr Robert Constantine died Dec. 14 burd at Oldham ye 16th where he was formerly Minister

Dec. 9 — Mrs Jane Leaver of Alkrinton was buried

Dec. 18 — Mrs Bann wife of Dr B. died ye 18 was buried ye 20th

Dec. 21 — Mr John Leech / Mrs Sarah Butler } Married

Feb. 23 — Mr Thomas Ellison Rector of Asheton under

line dep^{t} y^{e} 23 about 3 in y^{e} morning, buried y^{e} 26

March 11 1700 — I heard of y^{e} death of M^{rs} Done of Liverpool

April 9 — I heard tidings this day from Dedham y^{t} Bro^{r} Samuel Barker was well March 13 went towards London was taken with a Palsy dyed on y^{e} road near Hare Street in Essex y^{e} 23 of March was buried March 26 at Dedham in Essex

May 5 — I heard of y^{e} death of y^{e} Wife of M^{r} Sam. Laurence Minister of Nantwich buried Aprill 25 as I hear

May 7 1700 — I heard y^{t} William son of Cousin Samuel Angier of Toxteth deceased and Rebecca his now wid. was dead falling into a well the 14 of Aprill being Sab. evening when his mother was catechising the rest of her children which is a 5th breach amongst y^{e} relations of y^{t} family in a short time

May 13 Died — The wife of John Hyde son of Robert [Hyde] of Denton departed this life y^{e} 13th a little after I left her

May 23 — The son of Edward Hyde Esq^{re} of Hyde was born May the 23 bapt June —

June 18 ordained — M^{r} Samuel Eaton of Manchester
M^{r} Stephen Hughes of Wrexham
M^{r} John Brooks of Blakely
M^{r} John Bradley of —— in Wales
M^{r} Richard Miln of Stockport
M^{r} Michael Fletcher of Asheton
M^{r} James Grymshaw of Manch.
were ordained at Macclesfield
M^{r} Henry, M^{r} Chorlton, M^{r} Laurence, M^{r} Jones
M^{r} Alured, M^{r} Scholes & Samuel Angier laid hands on y^{m}

June 30 — I heard of y^{e} death of my Cousin M^{r} Robert Bellandine who died May y^{e} 19th at Hadnam in y^{e} Isle of Ely

June 30 — Katharine d. of S^{r} Robert Dukenfield of Dukenfield Bart. and y^{e} Lady Susanna was born June y^{e} 30th about 7 or 8 at night baptized July y^{e} 9th 1700. This is y^{e} Ladyes 13th child

July 28th — M^{r} Richard Dukenfield dyed July 28 being Lords day

July 28 — Lydia Daughter of M^{r} Jerimy Barlow School-

master and his wife Anna was born July 16th baptized July 28th 1700

July 29 Died or 30 — Died ye Duke of Gloucester ye only Child of Princess Anne of Denmark and Prince George. He was born July 24 1689 and was aged 11 years and 5 dayes, about one a clock in ye morning Tuesday July 30

Mmd yt on Wednesday July 24 last he was complimented by ye Nobility &c upon his entering into his twelfth year. On Fryday he was taken ill on Monday following he dyed. All flesh is grasse

Mmd The Gazett saith yt he was taken ill on Thursday yt he died Tuesday morning being July 30 about one o'clock very soon after midnight

N.B. from Sept. 29 to October 6 great rain dayly many floods

Oct. 3. A man drowned in Goit water going to Chappell to Maxfield

Sept. 17 O.S. — Its said yt Pope Innocent ye 12th died Sept. 27 N.S. 17 O.S.

Nov. 1 O.S. — Died ye King of Spain (Charles ye 2nd) He was born Nov. 6 1661 & was 39 years old wanting 5 days. His death was on October 21 Old Style

Nov. 26 O.S. — The King of Sweden obtained a great victory over the Czar of Moscovy before Nerva wherein many 1000 Moscovites were slain

Jan. 13 — Lois daughter of John Bruckshaw and Martha his wife of Duckinfield was born Monday Jan. 13th bapt. Monday Jan. 20. Died ye 21

February 8 — Mrs Newcome Wid. of Mr Henrye Newcome of Manchester was buried

Feb. 27 1701 — Mr Robert Hollingworth of Tintwistle aged 20

March 31 — Tidings came to Manchester of the death of Mr Warburton fellow of ye Colledge of Manchester Rector of Middleton who died in Lancaster Castle being a Prisoner for Debt

June 9 N.S. — The Duke of Orleance only Brother to Lewis ye 14th grand Tyrant of France died of an Apoplexy. He was borne Sept. 22 1640 Married March 1661 to Pr. Henrietta daughter of King Charles I sister to or King Ch. ye 2nd She died suddenly June 29 1670 being poisoned as was suspected. It was

said y^t she & her Brother K. Ch^s y^e 2^d lay together at Dover which could not be so close but y^t it came to y^e ears of y^e Duke her husb. and its certain y^t a few days after she died. This stroke comes near y^e Tyrant

Aug. 22 — M^r Robert Eaton of Manchester Min^r of y^e Gospell was born July 1622 died Aug. 22 and was buried y^e 25 aged 79 y^s & upwards

Sept. 14 New Style — King James y^e second born October 14 Old Stile 1633 died at S^t Germains in France Sept. 14^th new stile which I suppose was on Wednesday o^r 3^rd of y^t moneth
N.B. y^e Newes afterwards said y^t he died o^r 6^th of September

Oct. 1 — Susanna daughter of M^r Immanuel Smith of Taunton in y^e Parish of Ashton under line was born Sept. 21 and baptized October the first 1701

Oct. 26 1701 — The Lady Susanna Duckenfield was delivered of a son being her 14^th child. The child was dead as is supposed some weeks ago

Nov. 14 — Agnes y^e wife of Rev^d M^r Wm Bagshaw of Ford was buried

Nov. 21 Died Bur. 25 — M^r Robert Mosley of Arnecroft in Glossop Parish died Nov. 21 was buried November 25^th 1701

Nov. 21 — Abigail y^e wife of Thomas Hyde of Haughton fell off from behind her husband into y^e river at Hamnett Ford and was carried down y^e water and died being taken up next morning beneath Hide Mill Weir and was buried y^e 24 a sad losse

Dec. 30 — Jane y^e wife of M^r Miles Bradshaw Mercer in Manchester was buried

Feb. 6 — Sir John Ardern of Hawarden died Fryday 6^th day of Feb^r aged 72 current
Mm^d That it was on y^e 6^th of Feb^r y^t King Charles y^e 2^d died 17 years agoe

March 8^th Died — William the Third our good king ended this life March 8 $170\frac{1}{2}$ born our 4^th of November old stile 1650 nine days after his father's death Came into England to deliver us from Popery and Slavery Nov. 5^th 1688. Was made King by y^e Parliament or Convention ffeb. 13 1688. The greatest losse of a King y^t we have had since Edward y^e 6^th

Buried April y^e 12^th in the Vault made in Hen. 7^th Chappell Westmin.

March 8 — Queen Anne proclaimed the same 8^th of March

1702

Aprill 1 1702 — The Reverend M^r William Bagshaw of Ford in Chappell parish slept in the Lord Buried y^e 4^th His wife was buried Nov. 14 last past. This is a great losse to Derbyshire &c. He was a man above my comendacon

Aprill 9 — The Right Honorable George Earl of Warrington was married

Apr. 18 — M^rs Mary Greaves was buried she died y^e 16

—— 23 — Queen Anne was crowned the twenty-third day God save the Queen

April 23 — Madame Frances Thomson of Newington Green died the 23^rd w^ch was her coronacion

April 29 — M^r Nathaniel Taylour one of y^e Lecturers at Salter's Hall in London died the night past 29

May 4 — The reverend M^r Oliver Heywood of Northowrham died, buried y^e 4

Mm^d George Leicester Esq^r of Toft in Cheshire & M^rs Jane Mosley were married [in] 1699

Ralph son of George and Jane born 1700

Mary daughter of both born 1701

June 14 Bapt. — George son of George Leicester of Toft Esq & Jane his wife was born June 14 1702

Sept. 7 — Mrs. Katherin Mosley wid. buried

Oct. 2 — Died M^r Nath Scoles Minister &c was buried Oct. 5 1702

Nov. 3 — Judith daughter of S^r Robert Dukenfield of Dukinfield in y^e Parish of Stopford in Cheshire & the Lady Susanna his wife was born Oct. 17 baptized November the third day 1702

She was married April 11. 1727.

Dec 3 — Mm^d That December the third being Thursday was a publick day of thanksgiving for y^e successe of o^r Armes ag^st France & Spain in the Netherlands and on y^e Rhine &c. and at Vigo

Nov. 21 — Died M^r Daniel Wild at Manchester

1703

April 3 — Died M^r Serjeant Bretland at the Buls Head in Manchester [said to be a *sudden* death in a memorandum subsequently]

May 29. — M^r Wagstaffe Vicar of Glossop was buried May 29

June 5 Bur. — John Ardern Esquire was buried at Stopford June the 5

June 19 — Lady Ardern died

Aug. 14 Buried — Mr Crompton of Brightmet Minister of the Gospel was buried

Sept. 23 — Robert Hyde of Denton aged 67

August 14 1703 — Sarah daughter of Mr Matthew Henry of Chester was born August 14 1703

Nov. 26 — Mms. That there was a mighty violent storm of wind on the 26th at night and the 27th early in the morning which did much harm at London, Bristol, and other sea Ports many ships of war were lost very many marchand ships &c

There was also a very great wind upon the 18 which did some harm but on the 26 the damage was unspeakable

March 14 — Ralph Ardern of Harden Esq. died at London was buried at Stockport March 26 1704

1704

March 26 — Mmd That ten Pound ten shillings sixpence was collected at our Chapel for suffering Protestants of Orang.

April 2 — John Ardern of Reddish was buried

May 19 — Died Alderman Hurst of Stopford

July 4 — Mr Ralph Lathrop and Margaret Angier were joyned in Marriage July 4th 1704

August 2 O.S. 1704 — The French and Bavarians were defeated by the Confederate Army. Count Talard taken prisoner by his grace the Duke of Marlborough and 1200 french officers many Thousands kild 30 Batalions and many squadrons made prisners of War the Duke of Bavaria glad to fly and Count Marsin a French Marshall was so courteous as to wait upon him in his retreat

Nov. 5 — Mrs Hannah Chorlton was buried

Nov. 12 — Robart son of John Hide of Denton & Martha his wife was born Oct. 22 Bapt. Nov. 12

Nov. 13 — Died Mr Henry Finch he was buried 16th

1705

April 15 — Died Mr Yates Lawier &c

Aprill 21 — Oswald son of Oswald grandson of Oswald Mosley of Ancoats Esq. was born Aprill 21

April 29 — Thomas Rile of Gorse Hall died, buried May the first

May the 10th — My grandson William Lathropp was born bap. 22. 1705

May 16 — Mr John Chorlton a worthy Minister of the Gospell in Manchester departed this life to the grief of all good men May the 16

This day tidings came of the death of Leopold Emperour of Germaynie who died April

June 22 — Mrs Heawood of Taunton widow was buried June 22

June 19 — Memorandum a Daughter of Mrs Alexanders of Manchester widow fell off a horse and dyed soone after

Dec. 24 — Mrs Sarah Leech of Manchester died the 20 and was buried 24 of December 1705

Mmdum.—Mr Clegg of Newton heth and Mrs Greaves wife of Mr Mat. Greaves and her little child dyed in a short time after Mrs Leach

Mar. 20 1706 — Judge Warren of Stockport died

April 18 — Mr William Davenport of Bram Hall dyed

May 18 — Margret Daughtar of Mr Ralph Lathrop and Margaret his wife was born May 18 1706

June 7 Died — Mr Joseph Dukinfield sone of Sir R. D. dyed at London of the small Pox June 7 1706

July — Jane daughter of Charles Dukinfield Esquire and Mary his wife was born in July 1706

Memorandum—That this year thare hath been floods evefy month from May to September one great flood in July another greater Sep. 17 which carried away much corn and brocke down Steley Bridg, Ashton Bridg, Beer Bridg, Portwood Bridg, Comstow Bridg, and did much dammag to mills and wieres &c. The like hath not been known in the memory of man

1706 Sep· — Miss Hooper dyed

Memorandum—This year hath been fatal to the french. May 1 O.S. the siege of Barcelona was rased. May 12 the battel was fought at Ramelis wherein the French ware totally routed. Sep. 7 N.S. The siege of Turen was raised, the Duke of Orleance & his armey routed and scatered

Nov. 16 — Samuel sonne of John Hyde of Denton and Martha his wife was born Nov. 6 Bapt. the 16

Jan. 28 1707 — Mrs Williamson of Alt Hill dyed Jan. 28.

June 25 Died — Mrs Jane Mosley of Ancotes died June 25, aged about ninety years

July 9 — Robert son of Charles Dukenfield Esquire and Mary his wife was born July 9 baptized 27 1707 he died Dec. 31 1726

	Jane daughter of the said Charles Dukenfield was born July 31 1706
Aug. 5	Thomas Butterworth and Frances Dukenfield were married
Sepr. 1	Died Mr Edward Greaves of Manchester.
Nov. 28	Robert son of Ralph Lathrop of Wem in Shropshire and Margaret his wife was born November 28 Bap. Dec. 17 1707
Feb. 3	Mary the wife of Richard Pemberton of Duck-[infield] died the 3 Buried on Friday in the New Chappal Yard. She was the first there buried
March 5 1708	Died George Leicester of Toft Esq.
April	Mr. Francies Tallents of Shrewsbury was buried Apr. 15 aged 88 years and foure months. Born Dec. 1619
April 29	Rostern Ravald buried
April 26	Thomas Butterworth de Manchester Born. He died March 13 buried 16 $17\frac{23}{24}$
Aug. 19	This Day the first Sermon in the New Chappal was preached being a thanksgiving day for the Victory near Oudenard &c.
Aug. 29	This was the first Lord's Day of Meeting at the New Chappal for the Worship of God
Aug. 30 Died	This day I heard of the death of Mrs Catherine Hooper D. of Mr Joseph Hooper of Manchester
Aug.	Charles son of Charles Dukenfeld Esquire & Mary his wife was born Aug. —— 1708
Sept. 12	John son of Laurence Wright of the Park and Alice his Wife was bap. in the New Chappal Sept. 12 1708
	This was the first child that was baptized in the New Chappal
Oct. 28 Died 1709	Prince George of Denmark
April 19 1709 Died	Died Mr Lowe of Knutsford Minister of the Gospel at the New Chappal aged about 39. Buried 21
August 22 1709	Elizabeth daughter of Mr Ralph Lathrop of Wemm in Shropshire & my daughter Margaret his wife was born Aug. 22 between 4 or 5 in the morning and bapt. Aug. 26 1709
Aug. 18 Died	Mr Jenkin Evans of Oswestry died Aug. 18 was buried 20

Mm.—That the small Pox was very Rife in this Town

in S[r] Robert's family eight children had them and all recovered six at Gorse Hall with many others who are spared. Blessed be God

Mm.—George Hudson died lately of a fall near Ancotes Bridge

1710

Sept. 4 died — M[r] Samuel Eaton of Manchester Minister of the Gospel aged 53 Buried the 7

Oct. 10 Bap. — Anne daughter of John Cooper of Duckenfield Minister of the Gospel & Anne his wife was born Oct. 3 Bap. Oct. 10 1710

Dec. 22 1710 — Richard son of Ralph Lathropp of Wemm in Shropshire & Mar: his wife was born Dec. 22 & Bap. Jan. 5 1710

[March] — Died the Dolfin of France of the small Pox

1711

April 17 N.S. — Died Joseph Emperour of Germany aged 33 y[rs] of the same distemper

May 1711 — Died Laurence Hyde Earl of Rochester of——

Aug. 12 / Bap. 1711 — Napolina Da. of Peter Rile of Godley and Napolina his wife was born July 7 Bap. Aug. 12

Sept. 2 — Peter Rile died

Sept. 7 / Bap. 1711 — Joshua son of Thomas Higginbotham of Moteram & Arminel his wife was born Sept. 2 Bap. 7 1711

1712

Nov. 20 / Bap. 1712 — Ann daughter of M[r] Tho. Butterworth of Manchester Junier & Frances his wife was born Nov. 9 Bap. Nov. 20 1712 & died after Feb.

Mm.—That the child was born and bap. at Duckinfield Hall

Mar. 17 — Ralph son of John Cooper of Dukinf[d] & Ann his wife was born February 14 and Bap. Mar. 17 1713 [1712-13]

1713

July 16 — Sarah dau. of Lawrence Wilson of Ashton under line Gent. & Margaret his wife was born June 28 and Bap. July 16 1713

Mary Dau. M[r] Ralph Latrop and Margaret his wife was born May 22 1713

Nov. 7 1713 [in another hand] — M[r] Angier was ceased [*sic*] with his last sickness in the morning between 9 & 10 of the clock and died the day fowling [following] a quarter of an ouer 6 a knight. M[r] Angier died Nov. y[e] 8 was buried Nov. 11 1713 in the 75 year of his Age.

The Rev. Samuel Angier, whose Register at Dukinfield has furnished the above extracts, was the nephew of the Rev. John Angier, the well-known Nonconformist minister at Denton Chapel, and son of Bezaleel Angier, a rich clothier at Dedham in Essex, where he was born on August 28th, 1639. He was educated at Westminster School under the celebrated Dr. Busby (whose death he notices in his Register in 1695), whence he proceeded to Christ Church, Oxford, where he matriculated on Dec. 8th, 1659. In 1666 or 7 he came to Denton to assist his uncle, and about 1668 married Anne, daughter of Oswald Mosley, of Manchester, gentleman (by Anne Lever his wife), by whom he had two sons and two daughters, who arrived at mature years. He was ordained a Presbyterian minister on October 29th, 1672, at the house of Mr. Robert Eaton, in Deansgate, Manchester, which is said in the life of Oliver Heywood, who was present, to have been "the first Presbyterian ordination among the Noncon-"formists in the north of England, and perhaps the first in any "part of the kingdom." He was forced to leave Denton after his uncle's death in 1677, and he then settled at Dukinfield, where he remained for the remainder of his life. Calamy states that his preaching "exposed him to many troubles and difficulties; "warrants were out against him, and in 1680 he was excommu-"nicated at Stockport Church." As already noted he first began to use a barn near his house for preaching in May, 1681, and in 1689, when the Toleration Act was passed, this or some similar building on an estate in Dukinfield, called Angier's Tenement, was duly licensed as a place of worship. In 1690 he had the misfortune to lose his wife, who was buried at Manchester, on July 26th. Her tombstone described her as "Anne Daughter of "Oswald Mosley, gent., and wife of Samuel Angier, Minister of "the Gospel." He survived her till Nov. 8th, 1713, when he died, aged 74 years, and was buried on the south side of Dukinfield Chapel, where a long Latin inscription, still preserved, was placed to his memory by his two sons. There is no will preserved at Chester, and it seems probable that he died intestate. Mr. Angier occupied a very prominent position among the Noncon-

formists of Lancashire and Cheshire, and is spoken of with great respect. Calamy says of him :—"He was an excellent scholar, "and retained much of his school learning. He was a very "judicious and lively preacher, and a zealous asserter of the "doctrine of free grace. He was an eminent Christian and "zealous of good works; much in prayer, and very particular in "praying for his friends and neighbours, especially in affliction. "When his sight failed him, [towards the end of his life] he "frequently entertained himself with repeating the greater part of "David's Psalms and Paul's Epistles. He was all his days a "close student, a great valuer of Bible knowledge, an exact "preacher, and one who lived as he spoke and spoke as he lived. "He was fully satisfied with his nonconformity to the last. "Being requested to draw up an account of his ejectment and "sufferings, his answer was, the ill-treatment he had then met "with would blacken the characters of some who were now dead "and gone, and be very offensive to some still living, and there-"fore he was for dropping the account of it."

His eldest son (named after his grandfather) Bezaleel Angier, was a physician in London, where he died in 1717, and the other son, John Angier, became a Bristol merchant, and died there in 1760. His daughters Ann and Margaret both married; the former to the Rev. John Cooper, a minister at Hyde, in Cheshire, and the other to the Rev. Ralph Lathrop, afterwards minister of Wem, co. Salop, and Ledbury, co. Hereford. They both had issue, and there are several references to them in the Dukinfield Register.

An original portrait of Mr. Angier was said to be a few years since in the possession of Edward Harrison, Esq., one of his descendants. It is described as a full-size half-length in oil, representing him as "a mild, amiable-looking old man, in clerical "garb, with gown and bands, his white hair flowing from beneath "a black Geneva skull-cap." His age is given on the canvas as then 74.

THE ROMAN ROADS OF LANCASHIRE.

Part I.

By W. T. Watkin, Esq.

(Read January 27th, 1881.)

As a necessary corollary to the papers I have previously communicated to the Society, on the Roman Stations and miscellaneous remains of that people found within the county, the Roman roads (or rather remains of them) have now to be brought under consideration.

The task of doing so is, however, a difficult one. The great progress of agriculture, and the formation of canals, railways, &c., have almost obliterated, in a great portion of the county, the last traces of these roads. If, nearly two hundred years ago, antiquarians found them difficult to trace, what must the antiquary of the present day have to contend with, when endeavouring to connect their disjointed fragments? The last fifty years have been especially destructive to remains of this nature. It is therefore evident that we must rely for a great portion of our information as to them upon earlier writers.

At the outset, therefore, I must state that the authors to whom we are chiefly indebted, and from whom I shall chiefly quote, are the Rev. J. Whitaker, the historian of Manchester, who speaks of the roads as he found them 120 years ago; the late Rev. E. Sibson, of Ashton-in-Makerfield, whose treatise on three of the Roman roads of the county was published in the 1836 edition (vol. iii.) of *Baines' History of Lancashire;* and the late John Just, Esq., of the Grammar School, Bury, who contributed several papers upon the Roman roads of the county to the *Transactions of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester*, and also (in its first and third sessions) two papers to this Society. To these I propose to add observations of my own, resulting from personal inspection.

The greatest centre of Roman roads in the county is at Manchester. From this station no less than six (if not seven) roads issued, two of them, at a short distance from Manchester, throwing off other branches. These roads I therefore propose to take first in order. The chief one, which I consider also to be the oldest and the most important one in the county, is that leading to Wigan, and I have no doubt that it forms part of the route of the Tenth Iter of Antoninus. In vol. xxviii. of the *Archæological Journal* I have entered at length into this subject, which I will therefore merely epitomise here.

The text of Antonine's Tenth Iter is as follows :—

" A Glanoventa, Mediolanum...centum et quinquaginta CL
" Galava .....octodecim XVIII
" Alone .....duodecim XII
" Galacum .....novendecim XIX
" Bremetonacis .....viginti et septen XXVII
" Coccio .....viginti XX
" Mancunio .....septendecim XVII
" Condate.....octodecim XVIII
" Mediolano.....novendecim .....XVIIII "

Until the beginning of this century, the only station in this list of which the site could be identified was *Mancunium*, known, from the second Iter of Antonine, to have been at Manchester, (though, as is the case with several other stations, spelt differently in each). This gave the clue as to what part of the kingdom was traversed by the road named. In 1815, however, a fine Roman inscription, originally found at Ribchester in the sixteenth century, was disentombed from the walls of Salesbury Hall, in which it had been used as a common building stone, and it was then found that it had been erected by the Sarmatian cavalry regiment, which bore the title of " Bremetennacensian." This gave the clue to the site of *Bremetonacae*, or, as it is termed in the *Notitia*, *Bremetenracum*. Though partial guesses had previously been made as to the site of the other stations in the Iter, in some cases correctly, it was not, I believe, until my paper appeared in 1870, that the whole Iter had ever been traced, with any approach to correctness

in the distances, chiefly, I believe, through the ignorance of antiquaries (except local ones) as to the existence of the fine road between Wigan and Manchester, and of a station having existed at Wigan.

The stations named in the Iter, I thus allotted—commencing at Manchester and going northwards:—*Coccium* I placed at Wigan, where there has been a station at which three roads meet, and the distance along the Roman road from Manchester to Wigan, seventeen miles, agrees with the Iter. *Bremetonacae*, the next station, on the above-named evidence of an inscription, and also of the agreement of distance from Wigan, I placed at Ribchester. *Galacum* I placed at Overburrow, as the distance to this place along the Roman road from Ribchester agrees with the Iter, and the name of one of the rivers which washes the foot of the hill on which the station stood, the *Lac*, has long been supposed to indicate a portion of its name. *Alone*, as the distance and the name of the river (the *Lone* or Lune) upon which it was situated agreed, I placed at the station at Borrowbridge. The remaining two stations, *Galava* and *Glanoventa*, the distance and direction fairly agreeing, I placed at the stations at Kirkby Thore and Whitley Castle respectively. At first, I was contradicted by Dr. Bruce, in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, as to the site of the two last-named stations; but in the Appendix to that work he withdrew the contradiction: and in the last vol. of the *Archæologia Aeliana*, Mr. W. H. D. Longstaffe apparently adopts my conclusions.

It now remains for me to trace this road, in the first place as far as Wigan. Dr. Whitaker, in his *History of Manchester*, vol. i., p. 154, says, "The road to *Coccium* or Blackrode," (he erroneously concluded this place to be *Coccium*,) "did not commence imme-
"diately from the Castle Field. It might have begun at the
"south-western angle of it, have swept over the peninsula of
"Hulme Field, crossed the Irwell at the point of the meadow,
"and stretched away for Walkden Moor. And this would have
"been the most direct line of the road. But it was prevented
"by the badness of the morass betwixt Hulme Field and the

"station, and the prudence of retaining so useful a guard to the "latter. And the road to Blackrode *actually began with the way* "*to Kinderton, and proceeded with it for more than a mile.*" He then makes it pass the Irwell at Old Trafford, and takes it on to Hope Hall. Would any one think that Whitaker was here only *imagining* the course of the road? Yet this is the truth, as he himself admits (and subsequent researches have proved the same), for he says, a few lines further on :—"But in all this course, from "the river to the hall, *the road is wholly invisible*, and the remains "that begin at the latter, and extend for two miles together, are "the only arguments of its course." Happily, its course from Castle-field to Hope Hall has since been traced more correctly, and the road, as usual, is found to be a straight one.

The Rev. E. Sibson, in the *Transactions of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester*, (vol. vii., 2nd series, p. 536,) says :—"Meeting Mr. Henry Still, of the Ordnance Survey, and "Mr. Peter Clare, of Manchester, when men were employed by "Lord Francis Egerton in exploring the Roman Station at Castle "Field," [*circa* 1832. W. T. W.] "Mr. Clare was asked if he "knew of any intelligent person who had turned his attention to "the old roads in that neighbourhood? Mr. Clare immediately "named Mr. Thomas Groome, of Regent Road, in Salford, and "said that Mr. Groome had lived in the neighbourhood more "than fifty years, and that he was well acquainted with all the "old roads. On going to Mr. Groome, he immediately showed "us the track of the Roman road running in a straight line for "nearly two miles, and pointing directly across Woden's Ford to "the Castle Field."

From the MS. collections of Mr. Thomas Barritt (the Manchester antiquary of the last century), we derive some particulars as to this Woden's Ford. He states that it is said in an old writing that "Woden's Ford is a paved causeway across the river "Irwell, from Hulme Field, where the Medlock loses itself in the "aforesaid river to the opposite bank, but now lost to the observer "since the Irwell was made navigable." The prefix of "Woden's" was evidently given to the ford in Saxon times. Mr. Sibson

continues, p. 537, "The Roman road as pointed out by Mr. "Groome was seen very distinctly, with its broad ridge of gravel "and stones, on the south side of Regent Road, in the first field "on the west side of Ordsall Farm. These remains of the "Roman road were found here by Mr. Groome fifty years ago. "The road was found again by the gravel at the west end of "Hodge Lane, near the brook. . . . . On the north side "of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, close to Gorton "Bridge (which crosses the line) at the ditch on the west side of "the foot road, the Roman road from Manchester divides into "two branches. . . . . The branch to Wigan points past "Broom House to Hope Hall. The Roman road is found again "in the ditch on the north-west side of the lane leading from "Foster's Wood to the land of Nod, and there is here a large "quantity of gravel. The road is found again in a grassy lane "leading out of Weaste Lane, nearly opposite to Weaste Lodge, "where the gravel and ridge of the road are very visible. By "taking this slightly curved direction the road skirts along the "edge of Hart Hill, and thus keeps nearly on level ground."

It is necessary to give these particulars fully, as the road is now, owing to building, &c., almost, if not entirely, obliterated in this locality. Whitaker also traced it "along the foot of Hart's "Hill brow."

As a confirmation of the correctness of these authors, it may be stated that in January of last year (1880), the workmen employed in widening the railway between Eccles and Manchester came across the remains of the road where it crosses the railway at Weaste, between the Derby Road and Langworthy Road bridges. The road crosses the railway at an angle of about fifteen degrees, and is visible along the side of the line, as a thin line of gravel, about fifty yards in length. Its stones have apparently been removed, on account of their proving obstacles to the plough. It points direct to Weaste Parsonage, which must stand upon it, and its gravel is seen where it crosses Weaste Lane, a little below Hart Hill, and it is traceable by the same means into Old Hope Farm.

Weaste Lane is, I presume, the same as that called by Whitaker "Broomhouse Lane," which, he says, it crosses and "enters the "estate of Hope Hall." Whitaker adds—"It first slanted along "the side of Dovehouse Croft, has been there turned up by the "plough, and appeared to be seven yards in breadth."* And it is "next discovered in the field which is beyond the Old Hope "Hall, and denominated the Upper Broad Hope, by the gravel "below the surface, and in the next or Lower Broad Hope, by "the long ridge above it. The seam of the gravel is a proof of "the road, as the ground is all naturally clay; and the course of "the ridge is very evident to the eye." The ridge had disappeared from the Lower Broad Hope when Mr. Sibson surveyed the road in 1836, but in 1843 the road was found by Mr. John Goodwin, the farmer of the estate, in cutting a drain.

According to Whitaker—"In the next or Little Brook Field, "when the ground is ploughed, the gravel appears very thick "upon the furrows, and still more so at the extremity of the "ground and on the brink of the water." This account until lately held good, and probably still does so, if the ground has not been of late years built upon. It was on the north-west side of this field that the road crossed the small brook called Gilda or Gildas.

Whitaker continues—"The road here leaving the Hope Hall "estate, and entering the Heath Fields, the gravel is easily "discovered by the spade in the first of them, as it crosses the "corner of it. And in the second the ridge appears again, but "much greater and very large, extending ten or twelve yards "in width, and having a fall on either side. Passing through an "angle of the third, the elevation continues still evident, but reduced "in the fourth and fifth, rises to a very considerable height in "the sixth, and retains it in Heath Lane and the field beyond "it. In the last it appears equally green and dry for twelve or "thirteen yards in width, and is skirted by a border of rushes in "the wet ground of either side, But at the extremity of this, in

* At p. 157 (vol. i.) Whitaker says this fragment was paved with large boulders.

"the next or Toad Hill Field, and in that beyond both, it entirely "disappears, and the road is found only by the spade, in the "hither end of the second and at the further of the third "enclosure, and by the gravel which it discovers lying upon the "natural soil. And here the ridge seems to have been taken "away by the farmers, and the materials of it dispersed with an "equal hand over a part of the sloping ground on the right."

In 1836 Mr. Sibson found the track of the road in these fields but very little deteriorated from what it was in Whitaker's time. But by 1844 all that was *above* the surface had been destroyed, with the exception of the fragment crossing Heath Lane, which still remained a broad ridge of earth and gravel. In the Toad Hill Field the road was found six inches below the surface, and was also visible in the drains, by the gravel. It is still occasionally found by digging. There can be little or no doubt that the road from Blackrode fell into that from Wigan somewhere in this neighbourhood, but the point of junction has not been ascertained.

Mr. Sibson, in 1844, found the road by the gravel in the Calf Hey, near Chorlton Fold; and Whitaker says of it in this neighbourhood—"Crossing the next close and the lane, it points "through Chorlton Fold and the land beyond it to a second lane. "It there enters the Westwood Fields, and appears again with a "small ridge ascending the slope of the second enclosure, and "pointing to a large oak tree upon the furzy summit of it. And "at that tree, and in the adjoining field, the gravel is very "evident, lying thick upon the road, and spreading several yards "in width. It crosses the second close of Mr. Bailey in a plain "ridge, and the first of Mr. Watson in a plainer. Losing its "elevation at this end of Mr. Watson's second field, it recovers "it with an addition at the other. But in the next, or Mr. "Blomiley's, the gravel appears along all the three closes, lying "in a tall ridge of ten or twelve yards in width."

Commenting upon this in 1844, Mr. Sibson says:—"Almost "every trace of this road has disappeared in the Westwood "Fields. In Elias Chadwick's second field, which was formerly

"Mr. Watson's second field, it was found by the gravel in the "ditch on the west side of the field by Mr. James Richardson, "of Ashton-in-Makerfield. The road is found again by the "gravel and boulders in the corner of one of Mr. Blomiley's "fields at the junction of the Synsley Brook* and the Brookside "Brook. And the ridge of the road is very visible in the next "field, called the Clough Croft, pointing to a large ash tree near "the gate, where it was found by one of Lord Francis Egerton's "gamekeepers, when he was digging for rabbits."

Though in some parts subsequently destroyed, this account of the road, at this point, still remains correct. In 1862, when the Eccles and Wigan railway was being made, a portion of it was laid bare, about a foot below the surface, a little to the north-west of the "Seven Pits," in a field north of the Westwood Gardens. The gravel is described as being "light-coloured, firm, and "compact," and the road appeared to have been "*at least* seven "yards in breadth."—(*Gent. Mag.*, March, 1862.)

At this stage of his work, Whitaker falls into an error. He continues the road through the Brookside estate, by Drywood House to Shaving Lane, or "Shaving Street," about half a mile beyond it, and makes it point for Blackrode. We have, therefore, no further account of the direct road from his pen; and, strange to say, at this point he also ceases tracing the road to Blackrode—about twenty lines sufficing for his conjectures as to its route.

For the actual course of the road we are indebted to Mr. Sibson, who found it again by the gravel in the bank of the cutting of the tram road on the south-west side of Drywood, and traced it in the same straight line to the "Cross Field," where it was a little below the surface and closely paved. Here it is still found (1880) in the same condition, and in a dry summer may at once be detected by the "burnt up" appearance of the ground. It passes nearly midway between St. Mark's Church and the vicarage.

Lord Francis Egerton's workmen, in making a drain, found the road again a little to the west of Worsley Old Hall, in "Big Lady "Hill Field;" and Mr. Sibson further says, "The road is found

* There is a paved causeway across this brook, where the road fords it.

"again in Bushy Hill Field, on the north side of Wrenswood, "crossing a line of old oak trees which have stood in a hedgerow. "The cop and the hedge have been lately taken away; but "they had been set, as old hedges generally were, upon the "Roman road, and they had preserved it both from the spade "and the plough. The road is here quite perfect, it is closely "paved with large stones, and it has a smooth flat surface."

This fragment was one of the most perfect on the whole line of the road, but was soon much defaced: several persons who saw it, on its first discovery, aver that the ruts caused by the wheels of vehicles were plainly distinguishable.

The road was next found in the ditch near the junction of two foot roads, on the west side of Randswood or Wrenswood Field, and again in an old lane called "Cooke's Lane." where it was paved with large stones and very perfect. It next occurred in the field called "Big Woodheys," where the line of gravel was very visible in the ditch. After this, it appears to have passed through Walker's Wood, and crossed the little stream called the Ellen, the ground being sloped away to allow it to pass the stream. The modern road through the wood is on its site. It then reaches Mosely (or Mawdesley) Common, not far from the "Old Brick House," where it was found in 1831, presenting a ridge about sixty yards in length, which, when cut into, shewed (under a coating of grass of a very pale green) a foot of yellow gravel mixed with sand, and beneath it a bed of large flat blocks of yellow-coloured freestone. The natural peat was under this, and as soon as cut into, the water boiled up to the level of the road. By 1844, the ridge was nearly levelled; but the track was lately found close to this point, when removing the turf, by the line of gravel.

From this point, instead of continuing direct for Wigan, the road bears rather more northwards, in order to avoid the hill on which Cleworth Hall and Tyldesley stand. It continues as a hollow way, sloping down into Sheep Lane, and this, as Mr. Sibson justly remarks, is a proof that Sheep Lane was in existence before the road. A little beyond this, in a corner of "Further

"Wood Field," on the north side of Sheep Brook, it is again visible, partly as a slight ridge, and partly by a track of gravel, on each of which the grass is of a much paler colour than on the surrounding land. The ridge of the road, closely paved, is next visible where it crosses Turncroft Lane, on the east side of Pan Brow, and again in the "Rough Field," in Tyldesley, near Cleworth Hall, where it is formed of large pieces of white freestone, covered with gravel. The name of the field seems to signify that, until a comparatively recent period, it had been uncultivated, and this has probably preserved the road, which at this point again resumes its original direction towards Wigan, running across the Cleworth Hall estate, where it is twelve yards wide, and instead of freestone it has been paved with blue shale, which has now become a blue clay, adding to the fertility of the soil. The farmer at Cleworth Hall says, that on its line either wheat or clover grow higher or stronger than on the rest of the land, and its track is plainly discovered by these means. It next appears in a field near the "New Brick Barn," then on a portion of Little Shakerley Common, where a small portion of the ridge, retaining its stones, was recently in a very perfect state. It again assumes the form of a hollow way, in the "Shakerley Clough," sloping down to Tyldesley Brook, which it fords. "It was found," says Mr. Sibson, "by Charles Gerard, when he lived at Atherton "Lodge, in the field called "Big Ely," and it is still visible by "the gravel at the north-west corner of this field. It was found "by Mr. James Richardson, of Ashton-in-Makerfield, at the place "where it crosses Chanter's Brook, in the next field beyond the "'Big Ely,' on the north-east side of the willow plantation. The "road appears to have descended to the level of the brook; and "it is indicated by a layer of large stones, of the breadth of the "Roman road, imbedded in the clay on both sides of the brook." It crosses the brook by a paved causeway, and is next found in the fields, on each side of Miller's Lane, by its gravel, and in some places its stones, taken from the surface, lie strewn about. In the field on the east side of Atherton parsonage it again occurs, and on the north-west side of the same house its ridge crosses

Beefold Lane. Beyond this, in a field called "Ten Acres," the cop of a hedge has been set upon the road, under which it is quite perfect. The ridge in this field is also visible, and in the ditch on the south side of the turnpike road, a little beyond, the gravel and stones are again visible. At Hutton Fold it slopes down, on the site of the present road, to the brook, in which the paved causeway still remains. On the other side, the hedge of a garden is set across its line, the ridge and stones being lately very visible. The ridge and pavement are again visible in an old lane called Cow Lane. This is on the east of Gadbury Fold, opposite the orchard. Mr. Sibson says of it here—"The road appears to "cross the Bolton railway, near the 'whistle post' at Gadbury "Fold. The road has deviated a little from the straight line that "it might go up to the Fort, on the high ground at Gadbury Fold; "and having passed Gadbury Fold, it returns again to the direct "line to Wigan." He makes the name "Gadbury" to mean "Good Fort." I am, however, at least doubtful whether any Roman post ever stood at this point. Examination of the ground gave no such evidence, and no coins, pottery, &c., have ever been found, as far as I could ascertain by enquiry. The traces of the road, at this point, have been much obliterated, during the last few years, by the increase of Atherton and Chowbent.

For a short distance I am here obliged to rely wholly on Mr. Sibson, who at p. 551 says—"The gravel of the road is again "found near a gate in the hedge of the second field beyond "Gadbury Fold. The road appears to cross Lover's Lane, a "little below the orchard, at Four Lane Ends in Atherton. The "road is again visible where it crosses an old lane called Small "Brook Lane, a little below the New Barn. The line . . . . is "again discovered by the stones and gravel in the bank in the "Brook Meadow, where the road has sloped down to the brook "near Dangerous Corner; and the hollow track of the road is "very visible where it has sloped up the hill, from the brook to "the public house at Dangerous Corner. The Roman road "crosses the present highway at Dangerous Corner, and the "gravel and stones of the road are very visible near the hedge

"on the north side of the highway. Old Thomas Bushell, of "Moss House, near Amberswood Common, was told in 1796 by "Anthony Hodgkinson, who was then seventy years of age and "lived at Caer Common, that the gravel and stones of the Roman "road were very visible, in his time, in the south-west corner of "the field where the road to Caer Common branches off from "the present highway; and Anthony Hodgkinson said that this "old road went over Amberswood Common to Wigan, and that "in old times it was the highway road from Manchester to Wigan "and Preston. The name of Caer Common shews that there "has been a fort here, on the line of the Roman road."

In spite of the name, I doubt whether any fort has ever existed at Caer Common. There is no trace of it either above or below ground, and no discoveries are recorded. The road is here on the north side of the modern road from Atherton to Hindley; but a little further on, at the Swan Inn, it crosses the modern road, being there on the south side of it. When prosecuting the Ordnance Survey, Mr. Still found the garden of the Swan Inn being trenched, and on examination discovered the road quite perfect in the trenches, buried at a depth of twenty inches below the surface. Beyond the "Swan," the gravel and the stones of the road are traceable in some waste ground for a considerable distance, keeping almost parallel with the modern road. A portion of the latter, called Rotten Row, bears more to the north-west, whilst the Roman road pursues a straight line towards Wigan, the two roads not again touching each other until they arrive at that town. In almost every field in succession, for some distance, the gravel of the road is now found, in some the ridge faintly remains. Mr. Still plainly traced it here. In a lane near Hindley Parsonage it was found to be formed of a thick layer of round stones and gravel. About 1831, the Rev. E. Hill, M.A., incumbent of Hindley, found it in a meadow on the south side of the parsonage, two feet below the surface, and composed of stones and gravel. Here again, in several fields, Mr. Still and Mr. Richardson, of Ashton-in-Makerfield, traced it, in some places two feet below the surface, until it comes to a place called

"Lord Street," and just beyond is crossed by a lane called "Stony Lane." Beyond this, in the "Common Close," which is the next field to Amberswood Common, the road, by its stones and gravel, was lately, and probably still is, very visible.

It was from near this point that the tracing of the whole of the road was commenced. Mr. Sibson's account of the discovery of the first fragment of it is worth recording. He says—"The "Roman road having been traced from Warrington, through "Ashton-in-Makerfield, to Wigan, and forward to Standish to-"wards Preston, it seemed probable that there would be a Roman "road from Wigan to Manchester. The name of Lord Street "seemed to indicate the direction of this road, and considerable "pains were taken to discover some trace of it, in the neighbour-"hood of Lord Street. After many fruitless searches and "enquiries, this road was distinctly pointed out, in 1831, by old "Thomas Bushell, of Moss House. He said that he and his "father before him had been Common lookers for Mr. Walmsley, "of Westwood, and that both of them had frequently cut turf "on the line of this old road, which runs directly over Ambers-"wood Common towards Wigan. He said that within his own "recollection it had been much more visible than it is at present, "and that much of the ridge and gravel of the road had been "cut away. The line of the Roman road is, however, very "visible over Amberswood Common. In many places it is four-"teen yards in breadth,* the ridge of the road is broad and "round, the grass on the line of it is of a paler green, and, "wherever it is cut into, the bright gravel of it is found in abun-"dance. At the north end of the Common, near Common "Nook, the high ridge of the road and its thick coat of gravel "are very prominent."

Common Nook is about a mile and a half from Wigan. Near this, the road crosses the Springs Branch Railway. Ralph Thicknesse, Esq., jun., of Beech Hill, near Wigan, traced the road from Common Nook into the town. It was found by its gravel and stones in the ditch of a field beyond Amberswood

* It is a yard in thickness at Common Nook.

Common, and in two of the coal-pit fields at Ince. Crossing Ince Lane, it crossed the Leeds and Liverpool canal near the second footbridge, on the west side of the stone bridge, its ridge being very visible in the field on the north side of the canal. On the north side of the Scholes Brook, its stones were found in a drain, in a field near the old foundry. Its ridge was plainly seen as it ascended the brow on the south side of the "Brick Barn " House" in the Scholes, and its gravel was visible in the gardens in the Scholes, on the west side of the road from the Scholes to Plat Bridge. Its direction, when last traceable here, would bring it across the Douglas, near the bridge at the bottom of Mill Gate, where it would be pointing directly to the summit of the hill on which the central part of Wigan (including the Market place and Church) stands.

Such was the Roman road connecting Wigan with Manchester; a fine paved causeway, averaging thirteen yards in width. It is because of its vast importance to Britanno-Roman Archæology that I have so minutely described it. Leave this road unnoticed, and we are as far off a solution of the Tenth Iter of Antonine as ever—with it, all is plain. Yet the knowledge of its existence is only fifty years old. Camden, Gale, and Horsley were completely ignorant of it. Whitaker knew it only as far as Worsley, and assumed it went to Blackrode. To Mr. Sibson the credit of tracing it fully is justly due. And even since its discovery, no one writer on the Tenth Iter (so far as I know) has recognised this road as part of it. The road from Wigan to Warrington, or from Ribchester to Manchester (direct) has invariably been chosen. My paper of 1870, on the Tenth Iter, was, I presume, the first time that this road ever figured in an archæological publication as part of it.

Of the roads which branched from this one, the first to be considered is that which led through Blackrode. Where it left the main road has not, as I before said, been ascertained, but if produced in a straight line from where the last traces of it have been found, it would apparently leave the Wigan road somewhere near Heath Lane or Chorlton Fold. The first trace we

have of it is at "Stanney Street," about 2½ miles W.N.W. of Swinton. It passes thence to "Street Gate," near Peel, and at Little Hulton, between these places, it was laid bare a few years ago, when the railway was being cut, and found to be only about 10 feet wide and paved. At various places between this point and "Lane Ends," some 2½ miles further to the N.W., it has been traced by slight remains, as marked on the Ordnance map, and proceeds thence almost on the line of the present road (which is in some places upon it), through Over Hulton, Chequerbent, by Streddle Gate, West Houghton railway station, to Wingates. It has been found just beyond this, on the N.E. side of the modern road, keeping parallel with it, and falling into the course of Highgate Lane, from which it points to the "Castle "Croft" at Blackrode. Close to Blackrode, Whitaker (p. 156) says, that "here it was discovered about sixteen years ago," (*i.e. circa* 1757,) "parallel with the present road, and at a little dis- "tance from it, lying a foot below the surface, covered with a "strong crop of furzes and briars, and three yards in breadth, "and eight or nine in length." And (p. 157) he says, "the small "piece of it which was laid open by the spade at Blackrode "appeared to be a regular pavement, firmly jointed together, and "composed of heavy stones." Whitaker places a Roman station (which he calls *Coccium*) at Blackrode, but at the same time admits that the "Castle Croft," where he says he saw traces of ditches, is only half an acre in extent. No Roman remains have been found here, though there may possibly have been a small exploratory post.

Mr. Sibson (Baines' *Hist. of Lancashire*, 1st edit., vol. iii., p. 586), says—"It appears probable that this narrow road has "run forward from Blackrode by Street Fold and Water Street, "near Rivington, and by White Hough in Tockholes, to the "small Roman station at Blackburn, near the new road to "Preston," (*i.e.* the camp at Mellor.) If the road took this course, it would no doubt keep on till it fell into the track, a mile and a half further on, of the Roman road from Manchester to Ribchester, but there are no traces of it in the neighbourhood.

At Street Fold it would inevitably have been cut into and removed by the Rivington reservoir of the Liverpool Waterworks, before reaching which there is a place called "Windy Harbour" (a sure sign of a Roman road). It is true that there are traces on Anglezark Moor of a small road like this, pointing in the direction named, but they are fragmentary and cannot be traced further, whilst a little to the west of Anglezark, near Brinscall and its neighbourhood, by the names of "Causeway House," "Windy "Harbour" (a second time), "Low Arbour," &c., we have again evidences of a now invisible course of a road, which I think communicates through "Pippin Street" with the road from Wigan to Walton and Ribchester.

The other road, branching from the Wigan road at Gorton Bridge, has apparently gone through "Camp Field," near Little Bolton, by or through the northern portion of Trafford Park to the "Street" in Barton,* thence by "Street Fields," in a S.W. direction, by Irlam, Cadishead, and near Statham, to the Roman station at Wilderspool. Coins found at Statham attest its route; but the immense mosses of Chat Moss, Risley Moss, and Carrington Moss,—which I opine are *in a great measure*, though not perhaps *entirely*, of post-Roman formation,—have completely obliterated its course. The brazen metope found in Risley Moss, and an elegant bronze colander since found in the same, are, I think, some evidence as to this; but of the part of the road which is in Cheshire, I hope to treat subsequently.

The second great road from Manchester, which is the continuation of the Tenth Iter to the south of that town, running to *Condate* (Kinderton), and *Mediolanum* (Chesterton), has briefly to be mentioned; but its course in Lancashire is a very short one, not a trace of it now being visible, from the fact of a modern road being formed upon its site. Whitaker (vol. i., p. 139), makes it to issue from the *east* gate of the station, with that to *Cambodunum*, and parting from it at a little distance, "winded along the descent to the river, and a little on this side

* An old road found at Barton in 1875 will be described in my *Roman Lancashire*. Some further information as to "Camp Field" will also be given.

"of the Cornebrook turned on the right, to gain the course which "it should originally have moved." It is true that Whitaker had opportunities of examining its course which have now passed away for ever, as the neighbourhood of the Castle Field was not built upon; but after the experience we have had of his erroneous track of the road to Wigan, I think we are fully justified in considering this another erroneous statement. It was not the habit of the Roman road-makers to take longer routes than necessary, nor to take them in a directly opposite route from that which they were intended eventually to pursue. If the road did not go direct from the south gate of the station, which I have no doubt whatever it did, it is far more likely that it would issue from the west gate than that on the east, the former being more in a direction for its intended course. But at Cornbrook, it is certain that we are on its track. It seems almost certain that it must have been twice cut into by the Bridgewater Canal between Cornbrook and the present Blind Asylum, and that between these two points, it kept between the canal and the Irwell. It proceeds thence by the Botanical Gardens to Stretford, and passing the Mersey at Crossford Bridge, enters Cheshire.

Whitaker's account of this portion of the road is as follows (pp. 139-40):—"Passing from this track" (Cornbrook) "along "the track of the present highway, but twisted into angles by the "unequal encroachments of the enclosures upon it, it proceeded "through the village of Stretford to the bridge over the Mersey. "And as no appearances of the Roman workmanship can be "expected along the line of the present road, so none are dis- "coverable, I believe, on the borders of the adjoining fields. In "the unvarying level of those low meadows particularly, which "extend from the village to the ford, the least elevation of a road "would be immediately perceived. And in the coat of river "sand which covers them to a considerable depth, the smallest "seam of gravel would as readily be distinguished, But no traces "of a ridge appear to the eye above, and no remains of a founda- "tion are discovered by the spade below."

The line of this road appears to have been cut into in 1821,

during some draining operations in Hulme, and three carved stones were found amongst its gravel, supposed at the time to be Roman, but from the sketch given of one of them, I think it is very doubtful whether they were of that period. I should, with Mr. Baines, agree in assigning a later date to them. These stones were, I believe, lately preserved in the grounds of Peel Park, Salford. (Vide *Gent. Mag.*, 1821, and *Baines' Hist. of Lancashire*, vol. ii., p. 155, edit. 1836.)

The next road to be noticed is that from Manchester to *Cambodunum* (Slack near Huddersfield). It has been described by several authors, amongst them Whitaker, Mr. Just, and Mr. Butterworth, in his *History of Oldham.* In the limits of this paper I can only give a *resumé* of the accounts we have of its course. Whitaker traced it from the east gate of *Mancunium*, where it left the station, and close to which it was cut down from "the surface to the base in 1765; and the materials of it lay "plainly distinguished from the natural level of the ground, by the "melted bricks and broken millstones which were found incor- "porated with them. It appeared to be constructed with a strong "gravel, mingled with large boulders and fragments of rock. "And the whole was about fourteen yards in breadth, and one "and a half in depth." Whitaker then traces its course over ground now built upon, across the Infirmary Lane to Ardwick, Stanley Barn, and over four fields into Ancoats Lane; but he says—"And in all this course, so contiguous to the growing town, the "trace of it is wholly obliterated, though the subsequent remains "sufficiently point out the line of it."

Mr. Just also traced it in this neighbourhood about 1848; for he says—"At a point close to Manchester, near the Rochdale "canal and the line of the Manchester and Leeds railway, the first indications of the road were seen."

Whitaker traces it in this neighbourhood for some distance after crossing Ancoats Lane, by Shooter's Brook and Butler's Lane, the ridge being visible all the way, in one place sixteen or seventeen yards in width, and having a depth of gravel of three-quarters of a yard, with a quarter of a yard of marl above. It is

needless to say that almost all trace of it (if not all) is now obliterated here, owing to the extension of Manchester. Whitaker again traced it on to Newton Heath, where 150 yards of its ridge was visible. Mr. Just also traced it here, and so did the writer as late as 1857, the first remains he saw of it being near Cheetham Fold. Mr. Just says the Church of Newton Heath stands upon it, (I presume he means partially, for the modern road is evidently at this point upon the ancient one, as may be proved by the straitness of the course.) Mr. Just says that he found traces most of the way between Newton Heath and Failsworth. In 1857 I failed to find them. If the road continued straight (as most probably it did), I should think that for a short distance the canal must be upon its site.

At Failsworth the road re-appears, a morass having been the cause of its preservation. It bears here the name of "Street," or "Street Lane," and in Whitaker's time its remains were very imposing for upwards of a mile. The subsidence of the moss, on each side of it, left the road rising considerably above the level of the surrounding ground, the ridge in no place being less than a yard and a half in height—and for seventy yards it was six yards in height. Nothing but the gravel could be found by Whitaker, so the paving must have been removed. Mr. Butterworth says of this portion of it—"At the eastern extremity of "the township of Failsworth, the Roman road reaches the edge "of a morass, and immediately presents a ridge to the eye, "bearing the name of Street." This portion is used as a lane, and other portions are still visible in the fields beyond. Whitaker, and after him Butterworth (who quotes Whitaker's words) says—"Approaching the common of Hollinwood, and the "lane turning away on the right and left, it deserts the latter and "re-enters the fields, sweeping across Wulfenden's meadow, where "it is frequently found ascending the little elevation of Barnfield, "where it is just visible, and appearing in a plain green ridge "along the rushy level of Moss Grave. And going through "Mr. Kershaw's kitchen, croft, and fold, and over Mr. Bent's "Gatefield, it proceeds to Glodwick, where it has been found by

"the plough in one part, and is visible to the eye, for a great "number of yards together, in another." In 1857, I detected here and there slight remains of it in this course, as far as the Gatefield; but before it reaches Glodwick there is a fragment of it, overlooked, apparently, by both Whitaker and Butterworth, called "Honey Well Lane." Some two years ago, when applied to by the officers of the Ordnance Survey, I gave the opinion that this lane, from its formation and course, was a part of the road, and I believe it has since been adopted by them. This fragment is nearly half a mile in length. I found only slight traces between this lane and Glodwick. Whitaker and Butterworth trace its course beyond this to the Yorkshire border, the latter saying— "The Roman road after leaving Glodwick is seen again at the "descent of the hill, and in the grounds Well' i'hole. It leaves "Hey Chapel a little to the south, goes up the hill to Auster- "lands," (where it enters Yorkshire,) and so on to Slack."

Since Butterworth wrote this, there have been many changes made in the surface of the ground in this neighbourhood, especially in 1826. In 1857, however, I could faintly trace the road to Austerlands, and from thence to Doctor Head, where it must have crossed a road called the "Stayley Street," coming from the south, probably from "Melandra Castle," though the junction is not visible. Neither Whitaker nor Butterworth notice this. Slack, the destination of this road, and where the remains of a station exist, is the *Cambodunum* of Antonine, and the road itself forms part of the second Iter of that author.

Another road leading from Manchester was that to Ribchester direct. Though much more visible in the time of Whitaker than in 1842, when Mr. Just wrote upon it, it is doubtful if the former is correct when he says (p. 167) that it "issued from the station "about forty-eight yards from the north-eastern angle of it, and "must have passed the large hollow of the northern ditch by a "bridge." Whitaker then says it was found in two adjoining gardens, that it was a ridge five yards wide, "bordered with "squarish stones at the sides, and raised into a convexity of half "a yard above the ground." He traced it across "Camp Field,"

by Quay Street, to Hunt's Bank. It undoubtedly went to the latter place (now the site of the Victoria Station, Manchester.) Mr. Just's account, vol. vii. *Trans. of Manchester Lit. and Phil. Soc.* (2nd series, p. 3), is now the most to be relied upon. This gentleman traced the road from Hunt's Bank, through Strangeways (corresponding with the modern road), past Strangeways Hall, being visible in a field just beyond—(this fragment the writer saw as late as 1851)—past "Roman Road Terrace," so named from the houses standing upon it, keeping on the right of the present road, crossing the latter a little beyond Broughton lane. It twice crosses the Bury Road in this neighbourhood, and runs on towards Prestwich, and traces of it were lately visible near the Old Hall at Pilkington. It is again visible at Higher Lane, Park Gate, past Stand Church, and keeping in the modern road through the "Dales" plantation, through the fields to the north, descends to the bank of the river Irwell, crossing it a little below its junction with the Roach, and immediately in front of Radcliffe; passing through the grounds of Radcliffe Tower, about 150 yards to the left of that building; passing under the lodges and also the main building of Jas. Hutchinson and Sons' print works. It then crosses both the railway and canal, and, lost for a short distance, is slightly traceable at the Caw Brook, beyond which a small fragment, almost entire, was lately remaining; by its line of gravel, it is traceable thence to Spen Moor. At this place, it is found beneath the soil by the farmer, being composed of hard gravel, seven or eight yards broad, half a yard in thickness, and about a foot beneath the surface. Here also there is a fragment nearly entire, with the exception of the pavement. Passing "Joseph Street," which takes its name from it, it is visible at a place called "Starling" by its line of gravel, on to "Blackburn Street," where it forms part of the present road, and the boundary between the parishes of Bury and Radcliffe. Passing on the right of Cockey Moor, through a garden, under a cottage, and a meadow beyond, it is visible where it crosses a brook by the Lower Croft print works, and at the lodge of the same place.

It then passes through a field, and reaches the fold of Meadow Croft, being again slightly visible.

Of this part of the road, Mr. Just relates the following anecdote :—"The first time I traced out the remains of the "Roman road near Meadow Croft, a young man, seeing me with "a book in my hand, into which I inserted remarks with a pencil "as I went along, followed me and the gentleman who accom- "panied me, and after ascertaining that we were neither surveying "for a railroad line nor for levying any rate, but merely for a road "that had been, he told us—'Then owd felly's reet, for he used "'to say ot Pack Horses com throo't fowt formerly.' And who "is the old man? we enquired. 'Whoy, he's me feyther, an' it "'wur his feyther, that's my gronfeyther, ot towd him horses com "'atween Blackburn and Manchester.' And during the last "fortnight, I was informed by an old man at Meadow Croft, that "in the time of his father, many portions of the agger of the "Roman road were carted away, the stones for draining the "meadow below near the brook, and the gravel to the road which "passes the premises. . . . . To repeated questions, what was "the name of the road? . . I was answered, 'Wadling Street, "'it's coen Street, fur it wur paved formerly.'"

After leaving Meadow Croft, it is visible through the fields, till on high ground it reaches Heyt's Barn, about 40 yards beyond being again visible as a large agger, which ultimately falls in with the road still called "Watling Street," passing through Offyside. "Watling Street" keeps a straight line for nearly two miles to the "Bull's Head" inn. Here the Roman road deviates slightly to the right, preserving its straight line, and is visible (though slightly) through a succession of fields in some places fences being set upon it. Its track is then lost, until after passing the stone quarries at Edgeworth, where its track is again visible in the fields. Disappearing again, through the effects of cultivation, &c., it next becomes visible at "Round Barn," a little beyond which it falls into the track of the present highway, and continues straight up the hill of Blacksnape, on the summit of which it is

slightly on the left of the highway, many of the houses in the village standing upon it. On descending the hill, it is only visible by the line of gravel in the fields, but at Ellison Fold is slightly traceable; thence through the fields, by the white gravel line, to Harwood Fold, on the right of the highway. A little beyond this, a footpath and fence run along upon it until near Davy Field, in the farmyard and garden of which were recently very considerable remains of it. At this place it again becomes the line of the modern road, which is formed upon it, and its pavement of large stones, also the gravel, are beneath the smaller broken stones of the modern highway. With slight exceptions, the modern road keeps upon it until Lower Darwen is reached; but the ford across the Darwen is a little to the right of the newer road. It is, or lately was, visible close to the houses in Lower Darwen, which it passes through. It keeps a little to the right of the modern road from this point through the fields, in some places a slight ridge being visible, in others only the line of gravel. It passes, though obliterated upon the surface, through Grimshaw Park and into Blackburn, where Mr. Just found it visible forty years ago, about forty yards to the east of St. John's Church. The extension of Blackburn has much obliterated it to the N.W. of this point. Mr. Just found it visible again, however, by a "slightly elevated "white ridge in the third or fourth field from the town, and then "as a bold ridge as it approaches Revidge." He then traced it across Revidge Lane, several fields, &c., in one being almost perfect, crossing the same lane again to Buggart's Barn, but he found no traces there. By a belt of gravel in the fields beyond this, and by sections of the road visible in the drains, Mr. Just, 1842, and the writer in 1878, again traced the road. It then crosses a lane to the farm house of Higher Waves, where it is very visible; through other fields, where its gravel line and the drains again shew its course; past Lower Waves through the fields up to Ramsgreave. It here reaches the summit of the ridge, along which runs the modern road from Mellor to Wilpshire railway station, which it crosses. The road here comes within sight of the Ribble, and nearly a mile further along the ridge to the

west is the small intrenchment at Mellor. After crossing this modern road, the Roman way is used for nearly half a mile as an occupation road to Cuncliffe Moss, in which again I could trace portions of it twelve yards wide. It runs thence to a place called Midge Hole, its track still being in most places quite plain—here a small fragment is still used as a road. It appears again at another "Harwood Fold," and is traceable through the fields to the road leading to Whalley. It crosses this about 300 yards east of the "Royal Oak" inn, and soon after coincides with the road to a place called Stubby Head, which stands upon it. Beyond this I found another fragment of it, with the side stones still *in situ*, though grass-grown. This is, perhaps, what Mr. Just calls "a deserted lane, which has a causeway in the middle." It is again traceable in the fields, and as a short fragment of road. After this, its line of gravel appears through three or four fields in succession, to the bank of the Ribble, crossing the river fully a quarter of a mile to the east of Ribchester—that station being on the opposite bank.

From the remarkable absence of paving stones (except in one or two places) I think it evident that this road was not made until a considerably later period than that from Manchester to Ribchester *viâ* Wigan and Walton, and the object seems to have been to connect the stations by a more direct route. It is certainly not one of the roads embraced in the Antonine Itinerary.

Manchester was also connected with Buxton, the *Aquae* of Ravennas, by a Roman road which passed through Stockport, beyond which town traces of it occur, though on this side the modern road runs for the greatest part of the distance upon its site. Whitaker tells us, but whether correctly or not it is difficult to say, that it left *Mancunium* at the east gate, took a direction first for Garret Lane, then another for the Medlock, and a third for the Cornebrook. Personally I am more than sceptical as to the truth of this, as it is a violation of all the rules of Roman road-making. He takes it through Gathernes Field, by Galley Banks into Garret Lane, and says—"This was the course of a "public road, even within the present century, and therefore no

"appearances of the Roman construction can be expected along "it. And, having now obtained a proper line for the ford over "the Medlock, it made a considerable angle, winded along the "descent to Garret Hall, left Garret Bridge immediately on the "right, and passed along the bank of the river to the Old Ford "over it. So the passage across this point of the Medlock is still "denominated. And the track continues in some measure, and "for part of its course, a public way to the present moment. It "then deserted the lane, entered the left hand fields, reached "Cornebrook and the present road at the bridge, and fell into the "commencing line of Longsight. And the whole range of the "present way to Stockport, from this point to the Mersey, is "popularly denominated High Street, and thereby sufficiently "bespeaks itself to be Roman. But the first half mile of it "being remarkably direct, has obtained the significative appella-"tion of Longsight. Thus passing along the present highway, "the road crossed the Mersey at the ford, which, from the steap, "stop, or steep upon either side of it, received the appellation "of Stopford among the Saxons, and was about two hundred "yards above the present bridge of Stockport, and about sixty "below the union of the Mersey and the Tame. It then mounted "the brow of the Castle Hill to the market place, and traversed "the site of the town to Buxton."

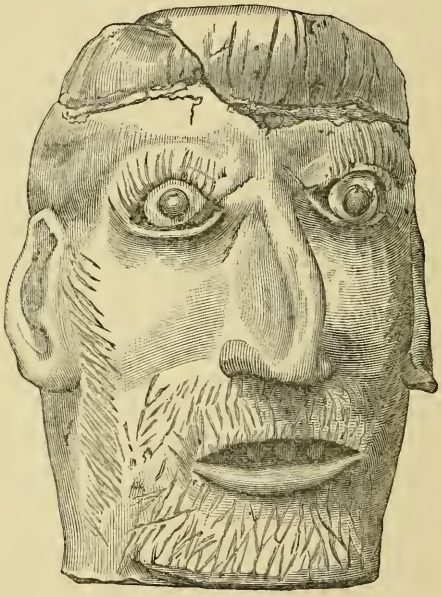
Of the course of this road, from the point where it crosses the Cornebrook to Stockport, there can be no doubt, and the name "High Street" sufficiently evinces its origin; but that it ran *straight* from *Mancunium* to the brook, I feel equally certain of. It would be well to watch narrowly excavations in any of the streets pointing in this direction, in order to determine the point.

There can, I think, be little doubt but that Manchester was also connected by a direct road with the Roman station at Melandra Castle. Of such road I have occasionally thought I have found traces, but until I can speak with more certainty, I forbear to enter into the question.

Through the courtesy of Mr. C. T. Gatty, I am enabled to add

particulars of some further Roman remains discovered at the stations (previously described) of Lancaster and Manchester, now preserved in the Mayer Museum.

Those at Lancaster comprise, in the first place, a vase of red-coloured pottery, eight inches high and five and a half inches in diameter, the front of which represents a human face. The nose is very prominent, the eyes are inlaid, the pupils being painted white. The hair on the face is delineated by roughly-incised lines, and at the back of the vase is a handle. It is delineated in the annexed woodcut.



Roman Vase found at Lancaster.

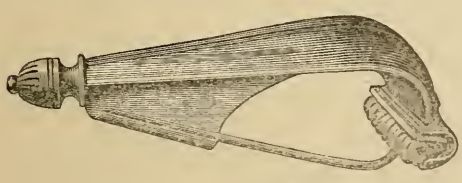
Roman vases, bearing a human face on the front, have been discovered at Lincoln, Burgh Castle, Chester-le-Street, Colchester, &c. ; but the shape of the vessel has been very different, the face occupying only a portion of the front, whilst in the Lancaster example it occupies the whole.

A Roman lamp of red pottery is amongst the collection ; it appears to bear the maker's name on the bottom in relief, but so

indistinctly stamped that it is illegible. A large number of fragments of embossed "Samian" ware also occur. They bear similar devices to other vessels of this ware found in England—figures of deities, soldiers, &c., and various kinds of animals—lions, hares, &c., also different sorts of birds. A portion of them bear the potter's names, amongst which are the following, all well known from having been found at other Roman stations, ATTICI . M., (AL)BINI . M., (B)ORILLI . M., CATVLI . . ., OF.COELI., DIVICATVS., OFF . GER., QVINTILIANI . M., SEXTI . O., SEDATI . M., and another impressed in a reverse manner, but rather indistinct, which is probably RVCCVS, a name found on Roman pottery in London.

Besides these are several portions of *mortaria*, in light-coloured pottery. One of them bears the letters TEPACI, no doubt part of the word which on another example occurs in full, ATEPACI. A third is stamped DE*A . OFF . C. We have examples of a stamp DEVAI on *mortaria* found in London, Castor (Northants.), and elsewhere; probably this is an imperfect example. The asterisk marks a missing letter. There are also fragments of a number of glass vessels, of an olive green colour, and a bone comb, similar to those found in the Danish "kitchen middens." All these articles were brought to light during the excavations in and about Lancaster railway station, in the year 1850.

The objects from Manchester, found during the excavations made in 1849 in the Castle Field, during the construction of the railway to Altrincham, are somewhat different. Though there is a quantity of figured Samian ware, *only one fragment* bears a potter's name, which is that of IVCVN., a well-known mark (*Jucundus*). There are a number of fragments of dark grey Roman pottery, but all unstamped. The most interesting article is a fine silver *fibula* or brooch, of which an engraving is annexed.



Roman Fibula found at Manchester.

It is of a well-known type. Several fragments of iron implements also occur. There are eight silver coins *(denarii)* of Vespasian, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, and Antoninus Pius, also ten brass coins, of a common type, in addition to which a silver penny of Canute, and an early Continental coin were found.

Though not Roman, this seems a fitting place to introduce a representation of a most interesting and beautiful bronze boss, of either Irish, Danish, or Scandinavian work, found at Ribchester. It is accordingly engraved.

Bronze Boss found at Ribchester.

THE MOCK CORPORATION OF SEPHTON.

Part I.

By the Rev. Engelbert Horley, M.A.

(Read February 10th, 1881.)

THE mention of Mock Corporations in the local histories of this country is by no means uncommon. The records of the past and the memories of persons still living bear ample testimony to their existence. In the 3rd volume of this Society's publications, a laughable account is given of the Election of a Mock Mayor at Newcastle-under-Lyne, with a quaint illustration, shewing the way in which this farce was observed so late as the year 1833. The custom in this instance originated in the determination of the people not to be defrauded by the corporate body of an ancient right. A charter had been granted by Henry II., and confirmed by Queen Elizabeth, by which the burgesses of the town were entitled annually to elect a Mayor; but soon after the date of its confirmation (1590), this charter was invaded and usurped by the members of the Corporation, whereupon the people, by way of asserting their ancient liberty, proceeded once a year to elect a Mock Mayor. The ceremony was accompanied with all kinds of buffoonery, and often with a spice of bitterness; and the whole day was given up to feasting and rioting.

Another Mock Corporation, deserving a passing notice, is that of Walton-le-Dale, near Preston. This was, however, at first a Jacobite Club, established in 1701, by the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Derwentwater, Sir T. Sherburne, Sir W. Pennington, and others, for political purposes, under the designation of "The Mayor and Corporation of the Ancient Borough of Walton." But its existence as a political institution was of short duration. The surrender of Preston to General Carpenter in the rebellion

of 1715, and the subsequent death of some of its chief members, and the dispersion of others, put an end to its proceedings. Still, it continued to exist as a Mock Corporation, with many whimsical ceremonies, till the year 1800. Dr. Whitaker (in *Hist. Richmondshire)* observes that down to the year 1766 its meetings were respectable; after that date "it fell into the hands of inferior "tradesmen, who continued to assemble with some of the old "formalities, but with neither the danger nor the dignity of their "predecessors." These meetings were held at a small public house, now called the "Unicorn."

The Mock Corporation of Sephton differed from the last-named club, at least in its institution, in that it was of a purely social character. It appears to have been established by Liverpool gentlemen, merchants and others, for the purpose of social intercourse with one another on the Sabbath day. Probably after the toil and bustle of the week they longed for a quiet day in the country; not without the soothing influences of religion, for it is gratifying to note in the early records of this Corporation that it was the custom of its members to attend church twice a day. Why they fixed upon Sephton for the place of their retirement from the busy world does not appear. It may be the seclusion of the spot invited them; or, as I would gladly believe, the beauty of the old Parish Church, which they constantly style "The Cathedrall," had a charm for them. Or, perhaps some tradition of the past turned their steps in this direction; some recollection of the bowling clubs of former days, for which we have recently been told Sephton and its neighbourhood were once famous. It has even been suggested that the pleasures of the table formed no slight attraction, and that the prospect of a good dinner at Nelly Barker's, who was the hostess at this time of the "Punch Bowl Inn," and who was in her way no mean artiste in culinary matters, strongly determined their choice. However, be this as it may, hither they repaired, Sunday after Sunday, as often as the day came round and the weather permitted, in numbers more or less, some on horseback, some in gig or carriage, (not by boat, for the Leeds and Liverpool Packet did not sail on

Sundays,) and some, who lived within walking distance, on foot. Here they were to be found, enjoying their early dinner and their visit to church "in form," and their glass of wine after church ;—drinking on the Mace ;—proposing His Majesty's health and that of the Lady Patroness ;—filling bumpers to the gallant admirals and seamen of the fleets, whose naval victories filled them with unfeigned delight ;—electing their Mayor, and conferring mock titles upon one another ;—talking politics or making bets on a favourite horse, or a main of cocks ;—listening to an account of the battle of Minden, or to a strange company of Psalm singers, attended by a band of music. Here they were to be found, to use their own expression, frequently repeated, "spending the "afternoon with the usual festivity, and closing the day with the "utmost harmony."

The earliest date, in connection with the origin of this Mock Corporation that I have been able to discover, is found upon a Mace still preserved at the "Punch Bowl Inn." It is attached to the following inscription—"The gift of F. Cust Esq., 1764." This is painted on one side of the head or bowl of the Mace, and on the opposite side is the representation of a wild boar, with the motto underneath of "Vivimus," or it may be "Dum "vivimus," but it is difficult to say which, owing to the obliteration of the characters. Whether this is intended for the crest and motto of the giver, or for a convivial picture, with its *bon mot*, I am unable to tell. In the latter case it may have been "Dum "vivimus vivamus." After this date there is no account of the Corporation till the year 1771, when the existing records begin. These are contained in two books of unequal size and interest. The first, commencing with the year 1771, and extending to the year 1786, is a small narrow book, resembling an account book ; and contains chiefly a list of members who attended the meetings of the Corporation during this period, with very few remarks upon their proceedings. There are, however, one or two records worthy of notice. The second book, though of the same shape, is much larger and thicker, being evidently intended for a fuller report of the meetings. From these books it appears that the

meetings of the Corporation were held from the year 1771 to 1783 exclusively at Sephton, in a room which received the high-sounding title of the "Mansion House." It was part of the old "Church Inn," which is now divided into two poor mean-looking thatched cottages, one of which still retains the chimney piece of the original chamber. After 1783, chiefly on account of the inclemency of the weather during the winter, the meetings were held partly at Sephton and partly at Bootle: at Sephton during the summer months, at Bootle during the winter months, from the first Sunday after the 18th of October to the middle of May. The place of meeting at Bootle was called the "Bootle Coffee House," traces of which, I believe, are still to be seen; but its name is chiefly preserved by the canal bridge, which was built close to it about 1773-4 (?), and which bears the name of "Coffee House Bridge." It is close to the present railway station.

The constitution of this Corporation was very similar to that of all Corporations, mock or otherwise. It was composed of a Mayor, two Bailiffs, a Recorder, a Town Clerk, a certain number of Aldermen and Common Council Men, a Sword and Mace-bearer, a Bellman, together with a number of Free Burgesses. The Mayor and Bailiffs (the Mayor's Bailiff and the Town's Bailiff) were elected annually on St. Luke's Day, the 18th October—the ancient day of electing the Mayor of Liverpool till the year 1836, and probably in imitation of it; and on the same day, or the Sunday following, the other members, with a few exceptions, Aldermen, Common Council Men, and Free Burgesses, in addition to the sober titles by which they were known, had some mock office or other conferred upon them, or were reinstated in those they formerly enjoyed. Thus it happened that nearly every member bore some whimsical title. Very often this was borrowed from the business or profession to which he belonged. Sometimes it was far from flattering. In accordance with this rule, every new member on his admission into this Society—and one or more were admitted nearly every Sunday—received at the time, or on the Sunday following, at the dictation

of the members then in council assembled, a mock distinction. Another custom connected with the admission of members was drinking on the mace. The aspiring candidate had to take "the oath," and then drain the mace, if possible at a breath, ἀπνευστι, as the Greeks expressed it, at a wind, or at one tip, (*i.e.* of the mace), as the records describe it. For this purpose one of the smaller maces had a movable top, which being taken off, revealed a hollow space in the shape of a cup, containing about half a pint. Sometimes the draught, which was of punch, wine, ale, or porter, according to the taste of the member elect, is spoken of as being a pint, and sometimes half a pint. The mace already mentioned could never have contained more than the latter quantity; but a measure of larger capacity must have been used on occasions, and I have been informed that at a later, and I may add, more degenerate, period in the history of this Corporation, a large glass goblet was substituted for the mace, which contained at the very least a pint. Much merriment was caused by the way in which the different candidates accomplished this feat, especially when, not content with two, they made three or even four "bites of a cherry." Another custom that was observed on the day of the Mayor's election, or the Sunday following, was the appointment of a Lady Patroness for the ensuing year. This was determined by competition, the members present bidding so much wine (sometimes many dozens) for the privilege of nominating the lady. Towards the close of these records this practice was abandoned, it being deemed rather below the dignity of the Corporation to have their Lady Patroness put up to auction, and knocked down to the highest bidder; and the nomination in future was left to the Mayor.

Before I proceed to read any extracts from the Records, it may not be out of place, nor devoid of interest, if I give, by way of further introduction, a list of Mayors, Lady Patronesses, mock titles, and also an illustration or two of the custom of drinking on the mace. The names of the Mayors have been gathered not only from the Records, but from the desks of the pew which the members of the Corporation were wont to occupy in Sephton

Church. This pew is still to be seen, in much the same condition as it was one hundred years ago, with its three rows of seats for the Burgesses and a separate square box for the Mayor. In some cases the names are deeply engraved, in others lightly traced in lead, though still quite legible.

1780.	Joseph Ward Esq.	Mayor	(pew.)
1784.	Thos. Holland Esq., or Right Hon. Lord Holland	do.	do.
1785.	Sam. Cheshyre Esq.	do.	
1786.	Edw. Banner Esq.	do.	
1787.	Thos. Payne Esq.	do.	
1788.	Wm. Henry Lickbarrow Esq. ...	do.	
1789.	John Stanton Esq.	do.	
1790.	Wm. Neilson Esq.	do.	
1791.	John Stanton Esq.	do.	
1792.	W. J. Calcott Esq.	do.	
1793.	Wm. Unsworth Esq.	do.	
1794.	W. J. Calcott Esq.	do.	
1795.	James Astley Esq.	do.	
1796.	Thos. Newsham Esq.....	do.	Feb. 7th
——	Wm. Hadkinson Esq.....	do.	
1797.	Elijah Cobham Esq.	do.	
1798.	Thos. Woodward Esq.	do.	
1801.	W. B. Lill Esq.	do.	(pew.)
1804.	—— Bridge Esq.	?	do.
1806.	R. Fotheringham Esq.	?	do.
1809.	T. Armstrong Esq.	?	do.
No date.	Jas. Oakes Esq.	do.	do.
No date.	John Mills Esq.	?	do.

The list of Lady Patronesses is as follows :—

1785. Miss Proctor.
1787. Miss Jackson.
1788. Miss Backhouse, of Everton.
1789. Miss Rothwell, of Sephton.
1790. Miss Fanny Woodville.
1791. Miss Frances Backhouse, of Everton.
1792. Miss Atherton.
1793. Miss Lawson.
1794. Miss Margaret Backhouse, of Everton.
1795. Miss Matilda Woodville.
1796. Miss Martha Pickering.
1797. Miss Backhouse.
—— Miss Betsey Clegge.
1798. Miss Staniforth.

MOCK TITLES.

Alderman Whalley.....	Master of Harriers.
Mr. Alex. Wotherspoon.....	An African Committee Man.
Mr. Thos. Newsham	Punch Maker.
Mr. Edw. Newsham	Attorney General.
Mr. Williames.....	Master of the Dramatis Personæ.
Mr. Gaskell	Commissioner to the Hackney Coaches.
Mr. Wm. Doughty.....	Pedestrian Ambassador to the Court of Russia.
Mr. Hans Dumpe	Translator of the Oriental Languages
Mr. Chas. Wilson	Governor of the Tantum Quarry on the Gold Coast.
Mr. J. C. H. Garbers.....	Imperial German Ambassador.
Mr. Edw. Banner	Ranger of the Forests.
Mr. Astley	Master of Fox Hounds.
Mr. John Stanton	Contractor for Gunpowder.
Mr. A. Molineux	Braizer and Tinker General.
Mr. Ogden	Poet Laureate.
Mr. McLean	Butter Weigher.
Mr. Richardson	Window Peeper.
Mr. Westmacott.....	Statuary.
Mr. Chas. Eyes	Architect.
Mr. Cobham Richardson ...	Inspector of the Coney Warren.
Mr. Sam. Patten.....	One of the Clerks of the Court of Conscience.
Mr. Thompson	Chafe-wax.
Mr. Alex. Pigott.....	Admiral of the North Seas.
Mr. George Bevan.....	Chief Justice in Eyre.
Mr. W. T. Christian	Master of the Revels.
Mr. Lodge	American Consul.
Mr. Heblethwaite	Prince of Anamaboe, or Palaver Settler.
Mr. Matthews.....	Hooper, Cooper, and Powder Keg Maker.

These are a few taken from a large number, the list of members mentioned in these Records amounting to more than 300, nearly 200 of which appear in *Gore's Directory* of 1791, as Liverpool gentlemen, merchants, and tradesmen. The following are a few instances of members drinking on the mace on being made members of the Corporation, or on receiving mock titles:—

At Sephton, Sunday, the 7th September, 1788.—Mr. Thomas Newsham in a short and pithy speech begged leave

to propose Mr. William Stanistreet junr. of Liverpool as a fit and proper person to be admitted a freeman of this ancient and loyal Corporation, and the motion being seconded by Mr. James Williamson it was carried unanimously in the affirmative and Mr. Stanistreet accordingly took the ancient oath in the accustomed way, drank his ale with honourable and meritorious alacrity and avidity and was recorded in due form.

Mr. Josiah Williamson begged leave to propose Mr. John Clarke junr. Grocer of Liverpool as a proper person to be admitted a Freeman of this ancient and loyal Corporation and the motion being seconded by Mr. Thomas Newsham, it was carried unanimously in the affirmative, and Mr. Clarke accordingly took the ancient oath in the accustomed way drank his ale with constitutional firmness and temperate avidity and was recorded in due form.

At Sephton, on Sunday, the 12th Oct. 1788.—Mr. Lickbarrow begged leave to propose Mr. Lewis Charles Daubuz of Falmouth as a fit and proper person to be admitted a Burgess and the motion being seconded by Mr. Williamson it was carried in the affirmative and Mr. Daubuz having drunk his wine and water instead of ale was admitted in form with the usual ceremonies. N.B.—Mr. Daubuz could not drink ale and he was therefore indulged with wine and water in preference which he drank manfully.

At Sephton, Sunday, 26th Sept. 1790.—Mr. Burgess Metcalfe on the motion of the Mayor, seconded by the Recorder was unanimously admitted Governor of the Settlements belonging to the Corporation at Botany Bay, on which occasion he took the ancient oath of office in a stile *(sic)* which distinguished him as a proper person to be sent to so distant a settlement.

Mr. Andrew Fillan (an ancient Burgess) on the motion of Burgess Cobham seconded by the Recorder was unanimously admitted Physician to the Corporation, on which occasion he took the oath of office in such a manner as convinced the company present that he was fonder of the contents of the Mace than any draught in the whole Materia Medica.

At Bootle, Sunday, 4th Dec. 1791.—On the motion of Burgess Taylor seconded by the Recorder Mr. Martin was unanimously voted and admitted Historical Painter to the ancient and loyal Corporation, on which occasion he took the oath of office in such a style of composition as pourtrayed with colour and effect the excellency of the wine that dignified the artist's draught.

It should be stated that Mr. Martin had just expressed a wish to present two emblematical paintings to the Corporation to decorate the new Council Chamber with, at Bootle, for which liberal offer he had received the unanimous thanks of the Corporation and his admission to freedom as an honorary donation.

I now propose to read a few extracts from the Records, as far as time and your patience will permit, for the most part in the order in which they occur, beginning with the year 1773.

> Sunday 24th October 1773.—Mr. (Bellman) Bradkirk having requested the Corporation to present him with a livery, It is ordered that the Corporation tailor make a yellow coat and waistcoat turned up with blue, cross-gartered stockings, the cap of liberty with bells annexed to it, and present the same to him as the gift of the Corporation of Sephton on the 1st of April next. Peter Ellames, Recorder.

Amongst other duties it was the Bellman's office to proclaim silence upon pain of imprisonment whilst a Freeman was being sworn in. On one occasion the Records inform us the candidate was so disconcerted by the sound of the bell, that he broke down in quaffing the accustomed libation.

> 29th January 1784.—The sporting Recorder Mr. Williamson lays Mr. Cheshyre a Rump and dozen of wine that Miss Bonor and Miss Taylor have each in the course of their lives smoked 10 pipes of tobacco.
>
> Note.—It was understood by the two gentlemen that those only who are now present are to partake of the wager.
>
> When the Town Clerk read to the Company the minute of the last wager, Mr. Williamson rose and said that the entry was erroneous, his wager being that the two ladies or either of them had smoked 20 pipes. Whereupon the sense of the company was taken.
>
> For the wager according to the spirit of the entry 7
> Against it 3
>
> Majority..... 4
>
> Mr. Williamson still being dissatisfied the company with the consent of Mr. Cheshyre agreed to remit the wager down to a single crown, which was paid to the Mayor by Mr. Cheshyre. The wager being proposed by Mr. Williamson, it will be incumbent upon him to prove within 1 month that Mr. Cheshyre has lost, or to return the crown.

The accomplished ladies who were the subject of the above wager will not be found on the list of the Lady-Patronesses, nor have I been able to discover any clue to their identity.

7th March 1784.—Mr. Alderman Newsham (an arrant tory) having made a motion for an address to his Majesty approving of the removal of the late Ministers, the same was seconded by Burgess Baynes, but Mr. Recorder having made a motion that the sense of the Corporation at large should be taken, the same was accordingly taken, when the previous motion was lost by a considerable majority, the Worshipful the Mayor, who voted for the address, being left in the minority.

Mr. Bailiffe Howard moved that the Freedom of this ancient and loyal Corporation should be given to the Right Honourable Charles James Fox for his steady conduct in support of the privileges of the people of this country, and that the same should be presented in a box made out of the best oak tree now growing on this Corporation estate, the same was seconded by the Receiver of the Land Tax (Geo. Welch Esq.) and opposed by the Recorder and Mayor, but upon a division the same was lost by a great majority.

A motion was then made by the Land Surveyor (Joseph Foden Esq.) that instead of the Freedom of this Corporation, a Halter should be presented to the Right Honourable Charles James Fox in a box of oak made out of the best tree on this Corporation estate, which motion was seconded by the Worshipful the Mayor, but Mr. Bailiff Howard demanding the sense of this Corporation to be taken a division was had, when upon casting up the votes there appeared,

for the motion	9
Against it	6
Majority in favour of the Halter	3

Mr. Woodward moved that the Freedom of this Corporation be presented to the Right Honourable William Pitt for his zealous attachment to the due exercises of the prerogatives of the Crown and the liberties of the people, which motion was seconded by the Worshipful the Mayor, but a division being demanded by Mr. Welch, the same was had accordingly when there appeared,

For the motion	10
Against it.....	5
Majority in favour of the Freedom of this Corporation being presented to Mr. Pitt.....	5

Mr. Recorder then rose with great gravity and having professed himself a disinterested friend of this Corporation and an admirer of the principles on which it was originally founded, moved that before the bringing in of the House Bill for this day's expenses a plate of ham and hung beef and biscuits and butter be immediately ordered for the use of the Corporation at this meeting, and the motion being seconded by Mr. Fowden, and it appearing that the rest of the members of this Corporation *were not very much averse to it*, the same was carried without a division.

Mr. Bailiff Cheshyre then moved that on account of the admission of the Right Honourable William Pitt to the Freedom of this ancient and loyal Corporation and the satisfaction the Corporation feels on having admitted Mr. Pitt thereto, that the sum of one guinea be paid by the Corporation Treasurer towards this day's expenses, the same was seconded by Mr. Mayor, and carried without a division.

The language of the previous motions seems to have been borrowed from, or at least suggested by, the Parliamentary reports and the public transactions of those stirring times. Thus Mr. Powys, speaking in the House of Commons, on the 2nd February, 1784, upon the proposed coalition of Pitt and Fox, declared that he did not wish the former to quit the fortress in which he was at present, and come with a servile humility, or with a halter round his neck, to deliver up its keys to the besiegers. (Hughes, *Hist. of Eng.*) The same writer also informs us that on the 10th February in the same year the city of London voted Mr. Pitt, not only thanks for his able, upright, and disinterested conduct in the present alarming and critical juncture of affairs, but the freedom of the city, in a gold box, as a mark of gratitude for his zeal in supporting the legal prerogatives of the Crown and the constitutional rights of the people.

Monday 18th October 1784.—The Worshipful the Mayor had moved that the freedom of this ancient and loyal Corporation be given (in a box made of oak) to the Right Honourable Lord Hood for his gallant behaviour in supporting the British Flag; the same was seconded by Mr. Bailiff Howard and passed nem. con., and it is suggested that the Mayor and Bailiffs elect do wait upon his Lordship and signify the same to him.

On account of the freedom of this Corporation being

granted to the truly gallant Lord Hood it was moved by Mr. Bailiff Howard and seconded by Mr. Banner and carried nem. con., that one guinea be spent out of the Corporation Fund.

His late Worship moved, seconded by Mr. Coroner Whalley that the Corporation of the ancient Borough of Sephton do after this day meet at the House of Thos. Halliwell commonly known by the name of the Bootle Coffee House till such time as the season will permit them to revisit Sephton.

Lord Hood was fêted in Liverpool, in October, 1783, for several days, with great *eclat.* The gallant seaman was one of a bright cluster of naval heroes that arose at this time on the firmament of England's history. Keppel, Hawke, Howe, Rodney, Jervis, &c., are names that will occur at once to the readers of past events. This constellation culminated in the daring exploits and splendid victories of Nelson; and then with the emergency that called it up, waned from sight. It left, however, behind it a halo which has clung to the flag of Great Britain ever since in every quarter of the globe. Hood was created a Baronet in 1778, as a reward for his achievements, and was elevated to the peerage of Ireland, 12th September, 1782, as Baron Hood of Catherington, upon his brilliant success, whilst serving under Rodney, over the French fleet which was about to attack Jamaica. Admiral Rodney performed on this occasion a skilful manœuvre which was afterwards adopted by Nelson with such memorable results, viz., that of breaking the enemy's line and placing his vessels between two fires. The fruits of this victory, achieved on the 12th April, 1782, were the capture of the French Admiral, the Comte de Grasse, with six ships of his fleet, and, in the following year, the peace of Versailles.

Sunday, 31st October, 1784.—This day being Waiting Sunday the Mayor elect took the Oaths of Office and his seat accordingly.

Advertisement.

Whereas the Regalia belonging to this Ancient Corporation was stole *(sic)* in the night of Tuesday last by some person or

persons unknown a reward of one hundred Guineas is hereby offered by the Mayor and Corporation to any person or persons who shall give information of one or more of the offenders concerned in the aforesaid Felony, to be paid upon conviction by the Treasurer of this Corporation.

On account of the depredations committed here nightly, a patrole is appointed to preserve the peace of this Corporation, and Capt. Thos. Duke is appointed to command the same.

It would almost seem as if there was a kind of mania about this time for felonies of the above description, the glittering insignia forming an unusual attraction to a certain class of minds; for, to compare great things with small, we are told in the annals of Baines and Gore that the Exchange at Liverpool was robbed, on the 26th February in this year, by Charles Coney, of the large silver mace, the two smaller ones, and the silver oar, &c. The depredator was detected, tried at the following Lancaster Assizes, and executed. Again, on the 24th March in the following year, 1785, the day before the dissolution of Parliament, the great seal of England was stolen from the house of Lord Chancellor Thurlow in Great Ormond Street, and never recovered. The Corporation Records do not state what success attended the offer of "one hundred guineas," but it may be presumed that the stolen property, if really carried off, was duly recovered, as the Regalia are alluded to from time to time, and were in constant requisition after this event. I may here mention that the Regalia of this Corporation which remain, and which are still preserved at the "Punch Bowl Inn," consist of two large maces and two small ones (one with a movable top), a sword, with a jewelled hilt, and a kind of emblematic device, with the words "Lœtitia et Amicitia" upon it, two or three wands, cocked hats, and gowns, the last-named very much decayed.

The same date.—The Ranger of the Corporation Estate and Inspector of the Game Laws paid five bottles of wine for nominating a Lady Patroness to this society for the year ensuing and named Miss Proctor, which Lady was unanimously approved off *(sic)*, and upon a motion made by

Mr. Alderman Whalley her health was drank *(sic)* round in a half pint glass.

13th Feby., 1785.—Our late amiable Lady Patroness being advanced to the more honourable title of *Wife* Sunday next was unanimously fixed upon for the Election of a Young Lady to that honour, and the Treasurer ordered to provide a Pig at the Corporation expense to be dressed on that day.

The turn that the satisfaction of the members of the Corporation took at the promotion of their Lady Patroness to the more honourable estate, if not very graceful, is certainly amusing.

Sephton, 29th May, 1785.
John Marshall.
George Warner Watts.
Robert Howard.

N.B.—There was dinner order'd for six, which must be paid by the Treasurer, the Gentlemen present (being the 29 May) had the Honour to dine with the Rector, Chaplain, Church Wardens, and the principal Gentlemen in the neighbourhood.

Here we have a happy picture of Sunday, the 29th May, nearly a hundred years ago. The entertainer was the Rev. Richard Rothwell, Rector of the Parish from 1763 to 1801. He was succeeded by his son, the Rev. Richard Rainshaw Rothwell, who was Rector from 1801 to 1863. Thus the two Rectors, father and son, were in possession of the living for the space of a century. The Chaplain here mentioned was the Rev. Thomas Johnson, Curate of the Parish for many years.

Bootle, 23rd April, '86.—Lord Henry Murray had the honour to be proposed a member of this Ancient Corporation by Alderman Whaley and was thereupon unanimously elected.

The Mayor named Lord Henry Murray to be Lord of the several Manors of this Corporation and his Lordship was accordingly appointed to that important office.

The presence of Lord Henry Murray in the neighbourhood of Liverpool at this time can be easily accounted for by the fact that he married in this year Eliza, daughter of Richard Kent,

Esq., of Liverpool; and his appearance at Bootle, if indeed he was present on this occasion, can be equally well explained by the interest he took in the stirring politics of the day. From the account given of him a few years later, 1790, by Sir James Picton in his *Memorials of Liverpool*, he was not above using violence to secure the return of a favourite candidate to Parliament. His place of residence in this locality was Eaton House (now Bishop Eton) on the Woolton Road.

> Sefton, 21 May, -86.—This day the ancient Corporation of Sefton held their first meeting for the summer by adjournment from Bootle.
>
> N.B.—Error in title—say Sephton—corrected by the Bailiff.

Although, in accordance with the orthography of the Corporation Recorders and the worthy Bailiff above-mentioned, I have allowed the spelling "Sephton" to appear throughout the present paper, I have reason to believe that the older and more correct mode of spelling the word is "Sefton," and it is my intention to adopt this form of spelling on all future occasions.

> Sephton, 4th June, -86. . . . . This being the King's Birthday, the same was observed accordingly by drinking his Majesty's good health and many happy days to come. And in remembrance also of that auspicious day, the song of "God save the King" was sung in the Church by the Mayor and Gentlemen of this Ancient Corporation, accompany'd with instrumental music, which was esteemed altogether a capital performance.
>
> The Queen and Royal Family were drank afterwards and a number of loyal Toasts were likewise given in the course of the evening.

This was not the only occasion on which the members of the Corporation testified their loyalty to the King and Royal Family. Three years later, on the recovery of the King from his mental affliction, the following entries are met with:—

> At Bootle, on Sunday y^e^ 8th March 1789. . . . . This day the Mayor and Corporation attended at Church to join in the General Thanksgiving for the Recovery of his Majesty's health and sing a Solemn ode applicable to the occasion.

The church was probably Walton-on-the-Hill. Again, on the following Sunday, the 15th March,—

> The Mayor moved that Hand Bills be immediately issued to invite the Gentlemen Clergy Merchants and other principal tradesmen and Inhabitants of the Ancient and Loyal Town of Sephton to honour him with their attendance in the Town Hall on Sunday next at Two o'clock to consider of the propriety of sending up an address of Congratulation to his Majesty on his happy Recovery from his late Indisposition—and the motion being seconded by Mr. Alderman Newsham it was carried *nem. con.* in the affirmative.

The next entry of the same date seems to shew that the exuberance of their joy knew no bounds.

> His Worship the Mayor, seconded by Alderman Whaley movedthat an Ox (not Bull seg) and several pigs be roasted whole next week on the above occasion, that a General illumination take place, and all the Burgesses "g . t d . . . k" at the Corporation expense. Carried *nem. con.* Bravo!

We are well acquainted with the "Bull seg" from the election squibs of a former period. (*Vide* Picton's account of the election of 1761.) Again,—

> At Bootle, on Sunday, the 22nd March, '89.—This being the day usually stiled *(sic)* by the vulgar Braggat Sunday—The following Gent. dined together at the Borough, viz.:
>
> His Worship The Mayor,
> William Neilson, Esq^re^ } Bailiffs,
> James Astley, Esq^re^ }
> Alderman Newsham,
> Mr. Recorder,
> Mr. Thomas Newsham, } Burgesses.
> ,, Hans Dampe, }
>
> And after dinner they were visited by
>
> Alderman Whaley, }
> Andrew Dodson, } Ancient
> Will: Unsworth, jun^r^ } Burgesses.
> Will: Denison, jun^r^ }
>
> A Ball at the Corporation expense was moved by the Mayor seconded by Burgess Newsham to be given on the 16th of next month in the Exchange to the Ladies and Gent^n^ of the Borough, on occasion of his Majesty's Happy Recovery, and it was carried in the affirmative nem: con:

This Ball, which was in truth a Ball given at the Town Hall by the inhabitants of Liverpool, really came off on the 16th of April, and was a very grand affair indeed. (*Vide* Picton.)

Finally, at Sephton, Sunday, 14th June, 1789, we find the following :—

> That the General Joy on acc^{t} of his Majesty's Happy recovery to health be more generally experienced :—Order'd by the Mayor and Corporation in Council Assembl'd—That the prison doors be thrown open and persons of all descriptions confined therein, set at liberty.

I must now return to the order which I proposed to observe in dealing with these records, and retrace my steps to the year 1786.

> At a meeting of the Worshipful the Mayor y^{e} Bailiffs and Burgesses of the ancient and loyal Corporation of Sephton, holden at Bootle on Sunday the 5th day of November 1786
>
> Present
> Thomas Payne Esq^{re} Mayor
> Mr. James Grundy Bailiff, Town's Bailiff
> Thomas Naylor Esq^{re}
> Edward Newsham Esq^{re}
> Mr. James Astley
> Thomas Newsham
> Ashton Byrom, Mayor's Bailiff
> William Lickbarrow
> Edward Banner
> Edward Blackstock Town Clerk
>
> Then appointed Mr. Thomas Naylor to the office of Recorder for the year ensuing, and Mr. Edward Newsham to that of Attorney General.
>
> Mr. William Slater took the freeman's Oath on his becoming a member and a freeman of this borough
>
> Then appointed Mr. Thomas Newshaw Punch maker to the Society who took the Oath of Office.
>
> Mr. Ashton Byrom having kept the Mayor Bailiff and Burgesses of this Boro' waiting 1 hour for his coming to Dinner according to promise he was fined in a glass of Punch.
>
> Mr. Edward Blackstock was continued Town Clerk and sworn accordingly.
>
> Mr. Thomas Naylor and Mr. Edward Newsham severally took the Oaths of Office.

> Ordered that the Silver Oar, presented to this borough by the late and much respected John Brownwell Esq^re^ Lieut. of the Seraphis in the memorable action with Paul Jones in the late war, be repaired and thereon be inscribed—"The Gift of John Brownwell Esq^re^ to the Boro' and Corporation of Sephton."
>
> The Corporation being called upon in 1787 to pay for this Oar the above Order was agreed to be rescinded.

The memorable action here alluded to was an engagement at sea that took place off Flamborough Head in 1779, between two English ships and the pirate, Paul Jones, with a squadron consisting of the "Bon Homme Richard," and "Alliance," each of 40 guns, the "Pallas," 32 guns, and the "Vengeance," armed brig. The pirate, the terror of our shores, both on the East and West, had on this occasion driven the coasters on the East into port in such numbers that Bridlington Harbour could not hold all which sought shelter in it, and many were glad to obtain safety by being chained to the outside of the pier. On September 23rd he gave chase to a valuable fleet of merchantmen sailing from the Baltic, under convoy of the "Seraphis," of 44 guns (Capt. Pearson), and the "Countess of Scarbro'," 22 guns (Capt. Percy). The British captains did not hesitate to engage the superior force of the enemy, and by placing themselves between him and the fleet secured for it a safe retreat into Scarbro'. The action, which lasted two hours, was fought by moonlight, in full view of the cliffs, which were crowded by spectators. The British were at last compelled to strike, but the boldness of their resistance may be appreciated by the fact that the "Bon Homme Richard" alone lost 300 in killed and wounded, and, from the injury she had sustained, went down the day after the engagement, with many of the wounded on board. Novel readers will probably be aware that this action is described by Cooper in his *Pilot*.

It is amusing to notice the rider to the above order, which is in the same handwriting as the order itself, and was added, as its contents declare, at a later date.

The silver oar above mentioned reappears on one laughable

occasion, and then, I believe, is heard of no more in these Records. I need not say that it is not to be found among the regalia that remain of this defunct Corporation. With regard to silver oars in general, I may observe that they frequently form part of the official emblems of corporate bodies, especially in maritime cities and towns. Thus we are most of us, I fancy, acquainted with the shining blade that adorns, on festive occasions, the walls of the Town Hall of Liverpool. And it is a somewhat singular circumstance that this aquatic emblem bears nearly the same date as the one mentioned in these Records. The inscription upon it (and all the inscription) is—

A.D. 1785
JOHN GREGSON ESQ^re^ MAYOR.
JOSEPH BROOKS JUN^r^
JOHN GREENWOOD
GENT: BAILIFFS 1785.

The names of the bailiffs are upon the stem, or handle; but there is no clue whatever to the donor, nor could I learn upon inquiry from the authorities anything relating to its history. Still, I cannot help thinking that there must be a history attached to it, and that this history is not unknown. If, like so many other relics, even of a late antiquity, it be left to tell its own tale, then I would suggest that its origin should be traced to the same source as that mentioned in the above order. Either it was the gift, or the supposed gift, of the "late and much-respected John Brownwell, Esq.," or the fear inspired by the terrible Paul Jones, coupled with the delight inspired by the naval victories of this period, conjured it from the pocket of some wealthy merchant of Liverpool. And if this silver emblem was the same that was carried off by Charles Coney in 1784 (as mentioned above), and afterwards recovered, then, like the one mentioned in the order of this day, it must have needed repair, and have had a new inscription inscribed upon it.

> Sephton, May 20, 1787. . . . This day a wager was laid that Nelly Barker's large Bowl did not hold five Gallons, for the value of the af^d^ Bowl of Punch, which was decided paid and spent.

Fortunately the number of members who attended on this day was large, otherwise the consequences might have been serious.

> Sephton, 12 August, 1787. . . . The Mayor proposed that the freedom of this Corporation be presented to the Rev. Mr. Loxam, and that the thanks of this Corporation be given to him for Two excellent Sermons delivered by him this day at the Cathedrall; he was pleased to accept his Freedom and was sworn in accordingly.

The eloquent clergyman here mentioned was the Rev. Richard Loxham, one of the four Curates attached to the Parish Church of St. Peter's and the Parochial Chapel of St. Nicholas's. He was afterwards Rector of Halsall, from 1816 to 1843.

> Sephton, 24th August, 1788. . . . This day the Right Rev. Father in God, Doctor Cleaver, Bishop of this Diocesce *(sic)* preached a most excellent sermon before the Worshipful the Mayor and Corporation; he was elegantly entertained by the Mayor afterwards, and will hold a Confirmation at the Parish Church to-morrow morning.

This was Dr. William Cleaver, Oxon, Bishop of Chester from 1788 to 1800. In the latter year he was translated to Bangor. His visit to Sephton must have been one of his early visits in his new Diocese.

> At Sephton, on Sunday y^e^ 14th Sep., 1788. . . . It being reported by Mr. Astley that the Church Steeple is out of Repair and the Weathercock does not veer according to the true Laws of the Compass, Ordered unanimously that an accurate survey be immediately taken of the Steeple and Weather Cock, and that Mr. James Grundy be appointed to survey the same, And be directed to make an immediate report of the state and condition he finds them in. Mr. James Grundy accordingly went and made his survey and then reported that he had duly made the same, And found that—The Steeple did not stand quite so stiff and firm as it should do, and that the Weathercock appeared to him to be much out of order. Therefore It was unanimously ordered that y^e^ Steeple be immedately pulled down and rebuilt in a tight stiff staunch and strong manner so as in future to give no cause of Complaint, And that the Weather Cock be neatly regilt and put into good working trim.

The anxiety here expressed in mock terms received a solemn confirmation a few years later, when in 1802 a portion of the

steeple was thrown down in a violent storm. The circumstance is alluded to both by Baines and Gore in their annals, thus :—

> 1802, Jan. 21. A dreadful hurricane. Considerable damages done by sea and land. The tide rose 6 feet higher than the calculation in the tide table. Sephton Church, (which, adds Baines, apparently believing the story of the four ones (1 1 1 1)* had stood 691 years), lost about 5 feet of its spire with the weather vane.

I do not see why the weather vane should be so particularly mentioned, unless there were some mysterious communication between the two writers named and the recorder of the above entry.

The portion of the steeple which was thrown down did not, fortunately, so far as I can learn, fall upon the church, but the accident nevertheless cost the Parish a considerable sum, as I find in the Churchwardens' accounts for the year 1802 the following entry :—

> Taking down part of the Steeple, and rebuilding the same, as by agreement.....£226

And again, in the accounts of the Constable of the Township of Sephton for the same year, the following :

> Paid to the repairs of the Church Steeple £21 5 10½

So that altogether, with the addition of such items as the following :

> Advertising the Church Steeple..... £0 15 0
> Spent at letting the Jobb £1 8 6

the injury done to the spire must have required an outlay of £250 to repair it.

I will now give an instance or two of the stringent laws that were applied to those who refused to become members of this Society, or to receive the distinctions that were voted to them.

> Sunday, Octr. 29, 1786.—Mr. Waring Nungrave having refused to accept the lucrative place of the Govr. of the Isle of Man was expelled this Society.

* The story of the four ones is an allusion to a little shield over the porch bearing what appear to be four straight strokes, the supposed date of the church ; but which form in reality the sacred monogram, I.H.S.

In the original entry the pen is even struck through the gentleman's name, as if to extinguish him altogether.

> 25 Novemr. 1787.—Mr. Moss, of Liverpool, Surgeon (present as a stranger), refus'd the Honor of becoming a Member and therefore he is deem'd disqualified from ever being a Member. Bootle, 6th April, 1788.

> Captain Flood, was proposed by Mr. Alder to the appointment of Governor General of the forces in Ireland, *which he refused*, chusing to continue on the English Establishment on *half pay*, for which refusal, he is for ever disabled from accepting any Office whatever from this Honorable and Ancient Corporation. . . . . Captn. Flood being duly sensible of his error in not accepting the office of Govr. General of the forces in Ireland did afterwards accept it, and was sworn into Office, but, *generously*, on these terms,—that the emoluments arising from this lucrative Post, he wou'd *(sic)* appropriate to the use of the Sunday Schools, instituted by this Corporation.

Captain Flood lived at this time at 56, Paradise Street, Liverpool. The Sunday Schools spoken of are the Bluecoat Schools of Liverpool, of which frequent mention is made in these Records, the Boys being called the "Blue Boys."

> At Bootle, on Sunday y^e^ 8th March 1789. . . . The Recorder (James Williamson) with great submission begged leave to propose Mr. George Bevan (an ancient Burgess) as a fit and proper person to fill the Office of Groom of the Stole to the Corporation (now vacant) and the motion being seconded by Burgess Dunn, as Master of the Revels, it was carried unanimously in the affirmative. But upon the Recorder's informing Mr. Bevan of the honour intended him, Mr. Bevan with no inconsiderable portion of *Sang Froid* took upon himself to presume to refuse the abovesaid Corporate Dignity. Whereupon Mr. Mayor (through motives of Delicacy and Candour) read an ancient ordinance of the Corporation, by which it evidently appeared that any person who should refuse to accept a Corporate office when offered to him was (if he persisted in it) rendered altogether incapable of ever afterwards enjoying any Corporate office. And Mr. Mayor apprized Burgess Bevan of the perilous situation in which he stood if he obstinately persisted in such refusal. After some pause Burgess Bevan thought proper to retract his

refusal and accept y^e^ office, and he was accordingly sworn in and drank his oath in ale, which he however did not do with such goût as it was at first imagined so honourable a Burgess recommended to so honourable a Dignity would have done. For Oh strange to tell! he made Three pauses at swallowing one pitiful pint of Ale.

At Bootle, Easter Sunday, 24th April, 1791.

Present :

Mr. Mayor.
Mr. Alderman Newsham.
Mr. Alderman Zuill.
Mr. Alderman Banner.
Mr. Alderman Neilson.
The Recorder.
Mr. Burgess James Taylor.
Mr. Burgess Grundy.
Mr. Burgess John Blackburne.

all of whom dined together and spent a pleasant day, and were visited by the following Burgesses, viz. :—

Mr. Robert Walford.
Mr. Andrew Dodson, Jun.
Mr. George Bevan.

About ½ past 3 o'clock the Famous Irish Giant Mr. O'Brian, descended from the puissant King Brian Boreau, came to the Borough in a Post Chaise, and as soon as that Important event was announced to the Corporation, a Deputation, consisting of the Recorder armed with the silver oar, and Burgess Grundy arm'd with the Great Mace, went and signified to the Giant that the Corporation were disposed to compliment him with the Freedom of y^e^ Borough. But the Giant having returned for answer that he was not disposed to accept of the Honour nothing further was done.

The renowned Goliath here mentioned was Patrick Cotter, born in 1761. He stood 8ft. 7in. high ; and was generally known as the Irish Giant. He was probably visiting Liverpool and the neighbourhood at this time. His death occurred in 1806.

The termination of the interview with the giant here recorded must, I think, be pronounced a "very lame and impotent conclusion." "Nothing further was done." But it remained, I fancy, for the Recorder and his deputed helpmate to beat a hasty retreat with oar and mace, covered, no doubt, with confusion at being thus ignominiously routed by the famous Irish Giant.

And this reminds me that I must now beat a retreat, not, I trust, in confusion, but with many apologies for having taken up so much of your time, and many thanks for the kind attention you have given me. I am also sensible that some kind of an apology is due from me for having brought such a subject as this under your notice at all; but in the first place I have felt that even a clergyman, like other people, may be allowed "*desipere in loco*;" and secondly, that if, by sifting the jocose matter that has fallen into my hands I could throw any light upon the manners and customs of a past age, I should not have spent my leisure hours altogether in vain.

Communications.

ON THE ARMS EXISTING IN THE CHURCHES OF PRESCOT, WIGAN, AND LIVERPOOL, IN THE YEAR 1590; WITH SOME NOTICES OF THE ACRES OR ACKERS FAMILY.

(Communicated by J. Paul Rylands, F.S.A.)

Arms in Prescot Church, circa 1590.

[HARLEIAN MS. 2129.]

"At Prescott Church, Countie of Lanc.

"[1] Ar. [argent] 3 wolves' heads eraz. [erased] sa. [sable] Im-
"paled with Bould vt sup'a [ut supra].

"[2] Ther also stands The Earle of Derbyes [arms].

"[3] Ther also stands Ar. 3 [drawing of a fusil] g. [gules] in
"fesse [for] mountacute.

"[4] In another place, Or an egle displ. vt [displayed, vert]
"Impaled with Ar. a X [saltire]. g.

"[5] Ar. 3 doweves [doves] B. [azure], Ther und[e]r standeth
"written penkethe."

1. This probably commemorates the marriage of Richard Bold and Ellen Halsall, referred to by Randle Holme in his notes taken in Farnworth Church, 27th February, 1635-6. The heads in the shield of Halsall of Halsall are called by various names: sometimes they are dragons', at others serpents', and in this case wolves' heads; their colour is, almost invariably, azure on a field argent.

2. The arms of the Earl of Derby, probably alone, as no quarterings are noted.

3. The ancient coat of the noble family of Montacute, Barons Montacute and Monthermer and Earls of Salisbury. The last heir-male, Thomas de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, was slain at

the siege of Orleans in the year 1421, but he left a daughter and heiress, Alice Countess of Salisbury, married to Sir Richard Nevill, K.G., who, in right of his wife, was Earl of Salisbury, Baron Montacute and Baron Monthermer.*

4. The arms of Monthermer and Nevill impaled, possibly in commemoration of the marriage just referred to; but in the Nevill coat the tinctures are reversed.

Sir John de Nevill, Lord Nevill of Raby (grandfather of Sir Richard) and his wife Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of William Lord Latimer, K.G., had the advowson of Prescot Church in the twelfth year of Richard II.† (A.D. 1388-9), and this will account for the appearance of their arms in the church windows.

5. The arms of the Penketh's, of Penketh, in Prescot parish. The birds have been described as kingfishers, owlets, doves, curlews, &c.,‡ but they are most probably popinjays. The family was an ancient one. At the Visitation of Lancashire, taken in 1567, it was represented by Richard Penketh, who, according to the pedigree then entered, was eleventh in descent from Henry Penketh, of Penketh, who would be living at the beginning of the thirteenth century, supposing the various generations to be correctly stated.

Arms in Wigan Church, circa 1590.

[HARLEIAN MS. 2129.]

"At Wygan in the glasse wyndowes of the Church.

"[1] 1 pl.[ace] Ar. 2 \ [bends] sa. [sable], his crest a white "hynd pass[an]t for Bradshawe.

"[2] 2 pl. Ar. 3 ∧ [chevrons] G. [gules] impaled with Ar. an "egle displ[ayed] 2 heads vt [vert] beuke [beak] & leggs "or.

"[3] 3 pl. B. [Azure] a lion Rap^{t} [rampant] Er [ermine] "Crowned or. Gerrard.

* Burke's Extinct Peerage.

† *Notitia Cestriensis*, publ. Chetham Soc., vol. II., p. 203, note.

‡ *See* "An Attempt to identify the Arms in Warrington Church and Friary," 1878. Mr. Beamont has printed an account of the Penketh's in the columns of the *Warrington Guardian*, 1880.

"[4] —— Quarterlie A mayndens head coped at shoulder "S [sable] wt 2 qr [within the second and third quarters] "Ar. a B. [azure] idm fenestr. [That is in the same "place" or window as the Gerard arms.]

"[5] 4 — Ar. [drawing of two swords in saltire, points down- "wards, sable; hilts, guards and pomels or.] und^r this "Coate is written Boston et Halghton.

"[6] 5 — In the greate wyndowe Sa. 2 keys in [drawing of two "keys in saltire, handles downwards] Ar. Impaled with "Sa. 3 dishes Ar. q[ua]rtered w^th Ar. a X [saltire] sa. "qrlie [quarterly]

"[7] 6 — Ar. 2 \ sa.

"[8] 7 — Ar. 2 \ [bendlets] G [gules], bet. the \ 3 trteuxs "[torteaux] for Innce.

"[9] 7 — Ar. on a \ sa. 3 garbes or, qrtered [quartered] w^th "[2nd.] Ar. a ✚ [cross] patonce sa.; 3d. sa. 3 [drawing "of a mullet of five points issuant from the horns of a "crescent] Ar.; 4[th] Ar. a fesse G., for hesketh. 1 for "hesketh, 2 for Banestre, Thurd for [blank], fourth "for Kente de Kendall.

"[10] 9 — B. [azure] a molyn [cross moline] or sans p' c' "[not pierced] for mollyneux.

"[11] 10 — idm [the same shield as the last.]

"[12] 11 — Leland, Ar. on a fesse sa. a lion pass^t [passant] "Ar. Impaled w^th G. [gules] 3 ∧ [chevrons] Ar.

"[13] 12 — Ar. 2 \ sa.

"[14] 13 — ibm. [the same coat] with a creste a whyte harte "pass^t, hornes or. Bradshawe.

"[15] 14 — Ar. betw. [between] 2 \ [bendlets] g. [gules] "3 t'rteuxs. Innce."

Of the fifteen shields here described four (numbers 1, 7, 13, and 14) commemorate the family of Bradshaw, or Bradshaigh as the name was frequently written, of Haigh Hall. The pedigree entered in 1567 gives the crest as "On a mount vert, a buck at "gaze, proper, under a vine vert," and the arms are differenced by a crescent.

Every reader of Roby's *Traditions of Lancashire* is familiar with the romantic story of the Lady Mabel Bradshaw and her two husbands, and every one who visits Wigan Church is shown her much-restored monument, with its elaborate carvings, representing the principal events of the legend. After continuing for many generations as lords of Haigh, the family became extinct about the middle of the last century, on the death of Sir Roger Bradshaigh, Bart.

2. The arms of the family of Langton of the Lowe in Hindley. The late Mr. William Langton, in his article on the Langton family in *The Visitation of Lancashire, 1533*, published by the Chetham Society, page 27, attributes this impaled coat to a marriage between a Langton of the Lowe and an Orel, and illustrates his argument in favour of this supposition by quotations from deeds and by armorial seals. The eagle quartered by Langton of the Lowe was ascribed to an imaginary family named Lowe at some date, and this error has been perpetuated in various ways. A green eagle was granted to Lowe of Westminster in 1694, probably on account of this fictitious traditional coat.

3. Gerard of Ince, a younger son of Gerard of the Bryn, about the reign of Henry IV., married the heiress of the Inces of Ince whose arms appear in numbers 8 and 15. The Gerards of Ince do not seem to have assumed the Fitzgerald arms, Argent a saltire Gules, as the parent house of the Bryn did. In 1567, William Gerard, of Ince, entered his pedigree, when the arms were differenced by a crescent, and he had allowed to him for a crest—A lion's jamb erect and erased Ermine, holding a hawk's lure tasselled Or. His first cousin once removed, Sir Gilbert Gerard, of Astley, in Leigh parish, was Attorney-General to Queen Elizabeth, and Master of the Rolls. Was the Attorney-General's uncle, Sir Richard Gerard, priest, the same person as Richard Gerard, Rector of Grappenhall, co. Chester, who restored the church of Grappenhall in 1539, and whose arms may still be seen in very old glass in one of the windows of the Old Rectory House, along with those of Thurstan Tyldesley ?

Gerard.

4. This peculiar coat of arms is not identified. The Langtons bore for a *crest* a woman's head couped below the shoulders, and it is possible that this shield is a confused composition intended for some member of the Langton family.

5. These are the arms of the Gillibrands of the Pele, in the township of Astley, in Leigh parish. The meaning of the words "Boston et Halghton" is not clear. Another branch of the Gillibrands had been "of Chorley Hall in co. Lanc." for at least four generations when they entered a pedigree at the Visitation of 1613.

6. Henry Standish, Bishop of St. Asaph. The arms of the See of St. Asaph impaling Standish quartered with Standish ancient; the last coat should have a border engrailed sable. He was appointed Bishop of St. Asaph by Papal Bull, dated 28th May, 1518, and consecrated at Otford, 11th July following. He died 9th July, 1535, and was buried in the Minories, London. (Le Neve's *Fasti Eccl. Angl.*)

8 and 15. The arms of the family of Ince, of Ince, in Wigan parish, frequently quartered, as we have already seen, by the Gerards of Ince. A branch of the Inces, then represented by John Ince, of Ince, entered a pedigree at the Visitation of Lancashire, in 1664. Another branch settled at Spinkhill, in Derbyshire, at an early date, and in 1639 seem to have been represented by John Ince, of Lincoln's Inn.*

9. The quartered shield of the Hesketh of Rufford. The first quarter, *Argent on a bend Sable three garbs Or*, is the Hesketh coat, adopted from that of the Fittons of Gawsworth, in Cheshire, *Argent on a bend Azure three garbs Or*, as Mr. Langton points out, on acquiring Great Harwood by marriage with an heiress of an offshoot of the Fitton family.† A splendid shield of twenty-eight quarterings is engraved in Dr. Howard's *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, quarterly series, Vol. II., page 149, and is preceded by a very full pedigree of the Hesketh of Rufford; in the same volume will be found pedigrees of the other branches of the Hesketh family.

* See a pedigree in Mr. Jewitt's *Reliquary*, Vol. VII., p. 183.
† *Visitation of Lancashire*, 1533, p. 68. (Chetham Society, Vol. xcviii.)

The Banastre quarter was brought in by the marriage of Thomas Hesketh, about the reign of Edward III., with Margaret, daughter and co-heiress of Thomas Banastre, who, according to the old pedigree of the Hesketh, was "Baron of Newton and "Lord of Walton, [and] sonne to y^e^ Baron y^t^ was knight of the "garter te'pe R. 2."

Nicholas Hesketh, son of Thomas above-named, who was living in 1415, married a Minshull heiress, and so brought in that quarter.

The quarter called "Kente de Kendall," probably came in with Fitton.

10 and 11. The arms of Molyneux of Hawkley Hall, in Wigan parish, a family descended from "Roger Molyneux of "Raynehull, co. Lancaster, ar., [who] lyved in the tyme of "K. Edward the first, as appereth by auncyent evydences," and who begins the pedigree entered by Thomas Molyneux, of Hawkley, in 1567. The family entered again at the Visitation of 1664-5. In Warrington parish churchyard there still remains a tomb of this family, with a boldly-carved coat of arms, crest, helm and mantling. The arms display the pierced cross moline with a mullet in dexter chief, and the crest is the usual plume of peacock's feathers on a cap of maintenance. The inscription, which is probably worth preserving here, is as follows :—

Here Lyeth the Body of
William Molyneux of
Hawkely Gentleman
who Departed this Life
The 17 of Feb. 1697.
Thomas Molyneux Son
of William Molyneux
of Hawkely Departed this
Life the 28 of October
1682.

Rich^d^ Molineux of Hawkley
Gent. Died July 4^th^ 1748 Aged
47. Elizabeth his wife Died June
11^th^ 1767 Aged 42.
Also Mary their Daughter
Died 28^th^ Nov^r^ 1775 Aged 42.

12. "Leland." This impaled coat most probably records the marriage of Sir William Leyland, of Morleys, in the parish of Leigh, with Anne, daughter and heiress of Alan Singleton, of Wightgill, co. York. The lion on the Leyland fesse is almost invariably placed between two escallop shells, and there should be in chief nine ears of barley gules, 3, 3, and 3, each placed two in saltire and one in pale, banded with a string Or. The family entered at the Visitations of 1533 and 1567, before the latter year Anne, granddaughter of Sir William, and daughter and sole heiress of Thomas Leyland, of Morleys, had become the wife of Edward Tyldesley, second son of Thurstan Tyldesley, of Wardley.

Leyland.

Arms in Liverpool Church, A.D. 1590.

[HARLEIAN MS. 2129.]

"1590. At Liverpoole Churche Countie of Lancaster.
"[1] In one Wyndowe Gerrard of Ince q^rterlie.
"[2] In another wyndowe The Kings Armes.
"[3] In another Plantagenet viz. g. [gules] 3 [drawing of a lion
"passant guardant] pass^t g^t [passant guardant] or a ⊤⊤⊤
"b [label of three points azure].
"[4] In another Wyndow v^t [vert] 12 escall [escallops] Ar.
"[argent] 4, 4 [and] 4. 2^d wate [second quarter] ar
"[argent] 3 grehounds cur [courant] sab [sable] Colres
"[collared] or. 3rd [quarter] ar [argent] a griff rap^t sa.
"[a gryphon segreant sable] 4 [4th quarter] gutty Ar.
"[guttée d'eau] a staggeshed cped [couped] de A [argent]
"All 4 qrlie [all these four coats quarterly].
"[5] In another Wyndowe Molyneuxs q^rterings.
"[6] In another Wyndow The Earle of Derbye thus first [grand
"quarter quarterly first] Stanley 2^d lathome 3^d warren
"4^th as the first. 2^d q^r [grand quarter] Mane per se. [the

"arms of the Isle of Man alone] 3 q[r] [grand quarter "quarterly] first Strange 2[d] Ryuers 3[d] Bruer. v[i]z: or a "✚ engr. sa. [Or a cross engrailed sable] 4[th] as the first "q[r]lie all.

"[7] Crosses Crest of lieu[r]poole a crane hed & a crosse—his "beuke [beak] . . . de Ar. [argent] le crane beuk & "leggs G. [gules]

"[8] Ther was buried Capt[en] George Acres, vz: G. [gules] 3 "escall. [escallops] Ar. [argent] q[r]tered w[th] Ar. [argent] "3 barrs Wauey [wavy] B. [azure] . his Creste a naked "man['s] Arme from elbo[w] up[wards] holding a banner "de wauey Or & B. [azure] semy w[th] ⚜ counter-colored "[semée of fleurs-de-lys counterchanged] & le midst [in the "middle] thereof an iynfaunts [infant's] hed coped bled'g "[couped and bleeding at] y[e] neck half faice [in profile].

"[9] In another Wyndowe Norres Henry de Speak G. a ⨻ "[Gules a fret] and Ar [argent with] an erron [a heron] "volant sa [sable] beuk or [beaked Or] q[r]lie et sur le tout "a fesse B. [quarterly and over all a fesse Azure].

"[10] In another Wyndowe Torbocke de Torbock, vz. or an "egles fote eraz G. [Or an eagle's claw erased Gules] on a "Chefe indented B. [azure] 3 plates."

1. We have already seen that the Gerards of Ince, by marriage with an heiress of the Inces of Ince, became entitled to quarter the arms of Ince with their own, and these two coats no doubt appeared in the "qrlie" shield in Liverpool Church in 1590.

2. "The Kinges Armes," or rather the Queen's Arms, would be quarterly first and fourth France, and second and third England, as borne from the time of Henry V. to the end of Elizabeth's reign by all our sovereigns.

3. "Plantagenet." The label of three points Azure was, or ought to have been, charged with three fleurs-de-lys on each point Or; the shield would then be that of the old Earls of Lancaster.*

* See "An Attempt to identify the Arms in Warrington Church," pages 20-22, where the bearings of "Lancaster" are explained.

4. This coat is intended to commemorate some member of the ancient family of More or Moore of Liverpool. A drawing of the armorial bearings of this family will be found at page 17 of vol. I. of the third series of the Historic Society's *Transactions* (1872-73), where it illustrates a paper by Mr. Ecroyd Smith on "More Street, now Moor Street, Liverpool," &c. The drawing displays six quarterings which are described as 1st More, 2nd Turton, 3rd Chamberlane, 4th Griffin, 5th Derby, and 6th, which, though not there identified, is the coat of Hawarden.

5. Even at this comparatively early period the quarterings of Molyneux of Sefton were numerous; ten quarters appear on the shield entered at the Visitation of 1613, but in the copy of this Visitation printed by the Chetham Society they are not described. In Mr. Earwaker's *East Cheshire*, vol. I. page 447, in a foot-note, a shield of Molyneux of Sefton, with sixteen quarterings, copied from an old shield at Bramhall Hall, is fully described; and almost the same quarterings occur on an armorial panel painting of the sixteenth century, preserved in the Warrington Museum.

6. The quarterings of the noble house of Stanley have been so frequently figured and described that all that is necessary here is to put the description of the shield of arms from the Liverpool church windows into modern blazon. It is as follows: Quarterly of four: first and fourth grand quarters, quarterly 1st and fourth, Argent on a bend Azure three stags' heads cabossed Or, Stanley; 2nd, on a chief indented three plates, Lathom; 3rd, Checky Or and Azure, Warren. Second grand quarter, Gules, three legs in armour flexed in triangle and conjoined at the thighs proper, garnished and spurred Or, Isle of Man. Third grand quarter, quarterly 1st and 4th, Gules two lions passant in pale Argent, Strange; 2nd, Argent a fesse and canton conjoined

The Earl of Derby.

Gules, Woodville; 3rd, Or a cross engrailed Sable, Mohun. This is not the usual manner in which the arms are quartered, and they are again curiously given in the annexed woodcut, taken from the Visitation of Lancashire, 1533, and here printed by permission of the *Chetham Society*. The escocheon of pretence, Azure a lion rampant, Argent, is for the Barony of Montalt.

7. The crest of the old family of Crosse, of Liverpool. According to the Lancashire Visitation of 1567, the crest was a stork proper [beaked and legged Gules], in the beak a cross patée [potent?] fitchée Argent.

8. Of Captain George Acres and his family, a number of notes will be found at the end of this paper. The arms in the church window vary slightly from those granted to this person in 1576.

9. In this shield of Norres, of Speke, the same confusion occurs as in the coat on the brass to the memory of one of the Norres family in Childwall Church. Dr. Ormerod, in his *Parentalia*, notices this error as being the same in both places. He says, "The Arms of Henry Norres formed part of the old painted "glass of the Church of St. Nicholas, at Liverpool, but were "inaccurately blazoned, the quarters being transposed, and *Erneys* "introduced in the second and third quarters of Norres, instead of "being quartered by Norres as a separate shield." And in a note the same author adds, "The '*Erron*' is probably intended for "'*Erne*,' as Dugdale's note, in the original draft of this Visitation "[1664-5], verbally describes it, in blazoning the Norres crest."

The correct rendering of this quartered coat is:—Quarterly of four; first and fourth grand quarters quarterly Argent and Gules, in the 2nd and 3rd a fret Or, over all a fesse Azure, for Norres; second and third grand quarters Argent, on a mount Vert an eagle with wings elevated Sable, beaked and legged Or, for Erneys.

Dr. Omerod's account of the Norres family, in the volume already referred to, contains much information of great value.

10. The Torbock coat is founded on that of Lathom, and the family has been fully described by Mr. Helsby, the editor of the new edition of Ormerod's *History of Cheshire*, in Mr. Jewitt's *Reliquary*, vols. X. and XI.

Captain George Acres.

From the grant of arms made to Captain Acres, we learn that he had served with distinction under the Earl of Essex in Ireland, and that he had also taken part in the wars "in France, Flanders, "and other places," his services in Ireland having entitled him to a special recognition of them in his coat-armour.

A copy of the grant, from Harleian MS., 1507, fo. 420, is here given :—

Grant of Arms to Captain George Acres, 1576.

To all and Singuler as well nobles and gentills these p[r]sents [re]ading or hearing Ulster *King of Armes of all Ireland* sendeth salutacons. Equity willethe and reason ordaineth that men vertuous and of noble courage shall be by theire merritts and good renowne rewarded and not alonly their persons in this mortall Life soe breife and Transitory but alsoe after them those that shall discend of with other gentles accepted and taken by certeyne Ensignes and tokens of hono[r] : that is to say Mason, healme and Tymbre to the end that theire Ensamples shall cause others to enforce themselves to use their daies in feats of armes and workes vertuous to gett renowne of antient Nobles in their Liues and posterityes : and forasmuch as *George Acres*, the sonne of *Robert Acres of Accers hall in Lancashire Gent.* and Captaine in Ireland is discended of the Race of Gentlemen of Antiquity, Nevertheless he not knowing of right what Armes to beare hath required me the said *Ulster* to assigne and sett forth his said armes and I the said *Ulster* seeing his request soe reasonable, soe by authority and Lycence by the *Queens Mat[ie]* to me granted by y[e] virtue of my said Office sett forth his said Armes in recompence of his good Service done as well in Ireland as also in ffrance, Flanders, and other places and haue also for further knowledge of his good service done in Ireland under the right honoble the late Earle of Essex adjoined unto the said Armes a Healme, Creast, Timbre, as followeth vizt. *Hee beareth for Acres Quarterly G.* [Gules] *the* [three] *Escollopps shells A* [Argent] *and in the Second Quarter in reguard of his service he beareth wavie A.* [Argent] *and B.* [Azure] *and for his Creast he beareth an arme from the Elbow upward holding an Ensigne, bend*[y] *waue*[y] *B.* [Azure] *and O.* [Or.] *seemed* [semée] *counterchanged with flower de luces and in the midst of the said Ensigne an Irish Kernes head the sleeve of the said hand p'tet. p. pale* [*parted per pale*] *in a wreath A.* [Argent] *and S.* [Sable] *Upon a healmet in p.per* [proper]

coullour mantled Gules doubled A. [Argent] *Buttoned Gould*, and in the forenamed Eschocheon his Difference for a second brother [*i.e.* a crescent] as more appeareth depicted in this Margent with this word or pouse [posey*] je viue en Esport, the same to haue and to use to the said *George Acres* and his Lawfull Issue with theire Due Differences for ever. In Witnes whereof I the aforenamed *Ulster King of Armes* have caused these p^rsents to be written and made and for Confirmason thereof haue sett to both seales as well as the Armes of Office as the seale of my Owne Armes. Given at Dublin the 16th of Martii One thousand ffiue hundred seaventy and Six Anno. Eliz. 19th.

Captain Acres's will, still preserved at Chester, in the Probate Court, gives some further information as to his family, &c. We learn from it that he died in July, 1588, leaving issue Thomas Acres, his son and heir, and five daughters. Anne wife of Jeffery Fox, Mary wife of William Governor, Joyce, Alice, and Amphilis Acres. He also mentions his sisters Joyce [Acres] and Ursula wife of Oliver Perkins, and his grandson George Fox. The will is here given in abstract :—

Will of George Acres, Gentleman, 1588.

7 Julie 1588. I *George Accres* of Lyverpool gentilman being of wholl mynde and good and p'fecte memorie praised be god knowinge my bodie mortall and consideringe howe sodainlie manie be taken noe will or disposition of theire goodes by them made by reason whereof the same often tymes be otherwise disposed then the mynde of the late ownor thereof was. And some tymes greate discension and stryffe dothe arryse for and abowte the same goodes. And when anie p'sone ys sore vexed w^th sickness his mynde can not be soe apte and p'fecte to doe suche thinges But more necessarie to take for the disposicon of the Soule Therefore I the said *George Accres* the daye and yeare above written doe ordaine constitute and make this my Testamente &c. I give all my lands tenements &c. to *Thomas Accres* my sonne and heire apparent and to the heires of his bodie lawfullie begotten or to be begotten for ever. And for default of

* Posey—a motto. "Posey Rings," or rings having poseys engraved on them, were common in the seventeenth century, and were generally used as betrothal rings. The word occurs in Beaumont and Fletcher :—

"The remnant of the books lie where they did, neighbours,
"Half puff'd away with the churchwardens' pipings
"Such smoaky zeales they have against hard places.
"The poor-man's box is there too ; If ye find any thing
"Besides the *posie*, and that half rubb'd out too,
"For fear it should awake too much charitie,
"Give it to pious uses—that is, spend it."

The Spanish Curate, Act 3, Sc. 2.

such issue of my son *Thomas Accres* then my lands &c. to the heirs of my three daughters *Anne ffoxe* wyffe of *Jeffrey ffoxe*, *Mary Governour* wyffe of *Will'm Governour* and *Joyce Accres* equallie &c. And for default of such issue then to *Alice Accres* and *Amphilis Accres* my other two daughters equally. And for default of such issue then to the right heirs of me the said *George Accres* for ever. To my sister *Joyce* 6s. 8d. per annum charged upon my lands. To my sister *Ursula Perkins* wife of *Oliver Perkins* 13s. 4d. per annum. To the said *Anne ffoxe* my daughter £50. To *George ffoxe* her sonne beinge my godsonne I give my baye mare and her colte remayninge in his owne possession. To *William Governour* my sonne in lawe all my part &c. of the good shippe or barque called the EAGLE that is to say on[e] moitie or halfe parte of the same shippe or barque beinge of 46 tonnes burden or thereaboute with all mann[r] of Sailes Mastes Anchors, Cables, ropes, &c. to the same moitie appertaining which of right to me ought to appertaine, *Gyles Brock* of Liverpoole merchaunt being the other halfe ownor &c. To *Mary Governour* my saide daughter £240. To *Joyce Accres* my daughter £100. To *Alice Accres* my daughter £50. To *Amphilis Accres* my daughter £50. To *George Mathewe* the elder of Barkeswell in y[e] countie of Warr. [Warwick] gent. £5. To the above-named *Jeffrey ffoxe* £5. To *Philipp Johnes* my servant £10 and all my apparell. To the poore people of the saide towne of Liverpoole 40s. To the poor of the said town of Barkeswell 40s. Residue to *Thomas Accres* my sonne and heire apparent whom I constitute my executor. If my son depart this life before he is 21 years old then all the legacies to him given shall remain to all my said daughters equally. And I make *George Matthewe* the elder and the said *Jeffrey ffoxe* supervisors.

In the codicil there is mentioned a bill for £25, dated 18th February, 1587, under the hand and seal of *John Andrews*, of Torrington, co. Devon, merchant, which bill testator gives to *William Governour.*

The will is witnessed by *John Byrd*, *William Governour*, *Gyles Brooke*, *Philipp Johnes*, and *John Hewett.*

Inventory by *Roger Rose*, *John Goore*, *Rauffe Winstanley*, and *John Lyrtinge (?).* £703 0 4.

Among the articles are—

Twooe ffowlinge peeces		xxxiiij*s.*		
fflaske and Touchboxes		iiij*s.*		
One graven Targett...	iij*li.*	vi*s.*	viij*d.*	
three Morians		xx*s.*		
Twooe Bandelers		iiij*s.*		

Twooe rapiers and twoe daggers ...	xs.	
A sword and buckler	vjs.	viij*d.*
A white bell salte of silver... ...	xxs.	
litle salte p'cell gilte	xs.	
Twooe silver Cuppes white... ...	xxxiiijs.	iiij*d.*
one cuppe w^th^ a cover p'cell gilt ...	xliijs.	iiij*d.*
one Leather Jack garnist w^th^ silver	xvjs.	
one bole garnisht wth silver ...	viijs.	
sixe silver spoones	xxviijs.	
Bookes of all sortes—xxxj	xxxiiijs.	iiij*d.*
one golde rynge	xls.	
a sylver seale	xijs.	
Twoe saddles	xxs.	

The persons who owed money to testator were Mr. *John Meare* £100, Mr. *William Huntington* £25, Mr. *Norres* £147, Mr. *Poole* £47, Mr. *Thomas Holcrofte* £105, Mr. *Thomas Booth de Trannoll* (?) £10, Mr. *Hesketh* £42, *Robert Davies* 15s. 4d., *Richard Haughton* 7s., *Thomas Walker* . . . The heire of *Thomas ffletcher* £198.

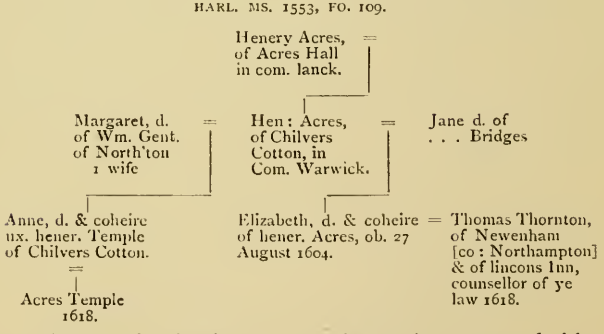
Will proved 31st July, 1588, before *David Yale*, Doctor of Laws, by the executor.

The only Acres pedigree that appears to exist is given below, but how the persons named in it are related to Captain Acres does not appear.

Acres Pedigree:

FROM PEDIGREE OF THORNTON AND NEWENHAM,

HARL. MS. 1553, FO. 109.



Henry Acres, who begins the pedigree, is very probably the same person as the Henry Acres named in the following extract from the Duchy of Lancaster Pleadings, Surveys, &c., *temp.* Henry VIII. (Vol. II. A. 3.)

To the R^t^ Hon^ble^ Sir *William Fitzwilliam*, Knight, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Complaint of *Henry Ackers* the King's Farmer of the Custom and toll of the town of Lyrpole and ferry of the same town; that whereas the said farmer & all other the king's farmers of the ferry have used always time out of mind "a bote to ffere "over the water there at the Kynges Townes of Lyrpole and "Runcorne" as well for themselves as for such of the king's subjects as would there (*sic*) ferry over there (*sic*) and to take the advantages thereof; and also to take custom for such "Catall" as there were ferried over; and no other person or persons has or have had any such ferries except the king's farmers of the ferry of Lyrpole for the time being until now of late years that *William Herryson*, *John Jamys*, *John Davidson*, *Thomas Fitzakerley*, *Thomas Chawner*, *Richard Whittefelde*, *Thomas A. Brygehynde*, *William Ansdale*, *John Brede*, *Richard Sampson*, *Henry Ansdale*, *Thomas Ansdale*, and *John Gregory*, having three boats among them these two years, have usurped upon the king's possession and have used to ferry over not only themselves but also such of the king's subjects as wished to be ferried over, taking the profits to their own use, not only to the impoverishing of the said king's farmer so that he is not able to pay the rent for the same, but also to the king's disherison in time to come, if it should be suffered.

Michaelmas 21 Hen. VIII.—Hereupon commission to the *Mayor of Lyrpole* and *William More*, Esq. to examine the matter and to order it and to bind such as will not be conformable to their order to appear quinzaine of Hilary next. [In fifteen days of Hil. 21 Hen. VIII., *i.e.* January, 1529-30.]

Again, in the Duchy of Lancaster Pleadings, *temp.* Elizabeth (vol. liv. p. 11), in the 18 Eliz. [A.D. 1575-6] we have in a Bill o Complaint the name "*John Alcarre*" and "*John Alcare*," who in the answer to the bill is called "*John Acar*," but no clue whatever to his identity is given in the documents. He is charged, with others, with being concerned in a riot at Mellinge.

The next occurrence of the name in the Duchy Pleadings is 8th June, 1602 (vol. clxii. E. 8):—

The Bill of Complaint of *Edward Eccleston*, of Eccleston, near Knowseley, Esq., who alleges that sundry Deeds, evidences, charters, &c., concerning a common or waste ground, showing how much lay within the towns and manors of Eccleston and Raynehill and how much within Whiston manor, were delivered to the custody of [blank] *Ackers*, ancestor of *James Ackers*, of Whiston, for the use of the lords of the said manors for the time being, &c.

There is not any genealogical information to be obtained from this document, nor in the answer of *James Ackers*, in which he states that he knows nothing of any such deeds, &c.; that he is a very poor man, having for maintenance an annuity of £3 and the rent of two cottages of the yearly rent of 8*s.* 4*d.* He is also aged, impotent, and broken of body, not able to get his living by any labour or work. No such deeds, &c., have come into his possession or that of any other person by his delivery; nor has he cancelled, defaced, or made away with any boundary deeds, orders, or decrees; nor did he ever see, know, or hear of any such, &c., &c.

This document is signed in an excellent hand "*James Ackers.*"

The name occurs again in 1613 in the person of *John Ackers*, junior, of Whiston, who in that year was a juror on the Inquisitions Post Mortem of Nicholas Banester, of Altham, Esq., and John Boulton, of Newsham, Gent. (*Lancashire Inquisitions*, pub. *Record Society*, vol. i., pp. 235 and 245.)

The four wills given below in abstract, from the originals in the Probate Court at Chester, though they relate to persons in a very humble rank of life, are worth preserving here, as there is every reason to suppose that they relate to the family of Captain Acres the grantee of the arms. They are the only Acres or Ackers wills, between 1545 and 1620, that are now to be found at Chester.

Will of Elizabeth Ackers, of Rainhill, 1592.

In the name of God amen the iiijth day of March in the yeare of our lord god izoh [*sic* for 1585] I *Elizabeth Ackers* of Ranill in the countie of lanc^{re} sicke in bodie &c. To my suster *Ketherin* my panne and a peuter diche my best house (*sic*) & a girdell. It'm I gyfe to my suster *Ann* my best goune & my warsted nopron & such other of my apparell as my mother shall think mettes for her. It'm I gyfe to my suster *margett* my best hatt & a peare of whyette sliues. It'm al the rest of my goudes saving on caulfe to my brothers and sisters to be devided amonge them at the discretion of *ellim* (?) *ackers* my mother. It'm the for said calufe I gyfe and bequeat unto my childe *John ley* if his father will accepe it and tacke it theise being wittness *Boldwyn Potter. Edward Whitlowe.* It'm to *John accars* my godson to *Margt. accars* his sister. . . . . .

Inventory of the goods of *Elizabeth Ackers* late of Ranill, co. Lanc. 16th May, 1585, mentions *Henry Accars* her late father. The admistration bond is by *Tho. Ackers*, of Rainhill, husbandman, brother of deceased, dated 31st May, xxxiiij Eliz. [1592]. Pr. 31st May, 1592, by *Thomas*. (She is called spinster in a modern endorsement of the will.)

Will of Ellen Accars, widow, 1593.

26 Feb. "xxxvth yeare of our maiesties rene that now is" I *Elin Accars* latte wyffe of *Henrye Accars* latt desesed of Ranill wydowe. To be buried in the pariche church of Prescott neare to my husband. I make my executors *Thomas* my sune [son] and *george gresse* (?) and my overseers *hugh gresse* my brother, and *Edward Whitlowe*. To my son *Edward Accars* 10s. To my daughter *margett accars* 10s. To *an* [*n*] *Whitlowe*, my daughter 4s. To *William garnet* 12d. To *Elin Rathbon* 12d. Residue equally among my for [four] said children.

Inventory £12 : 19 : 5.

Proved 7 March 1592 [3] by the executors.

Will of Peter Ackers, tailor, 1598.

6 Aug. 1598. *Peter Ackers*, of West Derby, co. Lanc. "Tayler." To be buried in the churchyard of Huiton [Huyton] To *Anne* my wife £13 : 6 : 8 towards bringing up my three youngest daughters *Marie*, *Anne* and *Lettice Ackers*. *Elizabeth Ackers* my eldest daughter £10. To *William Ackers* my second son £6 : 13 : 4. My good master *John Ogle*, of Whiston, gent. (landlord of testator) To *William Ackers* my brother, clothes. To *James Ackers* my eldest brother clothes. To *John Tarleton* son of *James Tarleton* deceased furniture after the decease of *Anne* my wife. Residue to be divided into three equal parts, one to myself, the second to *Anne* my wife, and the third to my six children, viz *James Ackers* and *William Ackers* my sonnes *Elizabeth Ackers*, *Mary Ackers*, *Anne Ackers* and *Lettice Ackers*, my daughters equally. Of my part I give to *Anne* my wife the best cow I have, to my three youngest daughters 40s. To the said *John Tarleton* 20s. All the rest of my part to all my sons and daughters equally. I make Anne my wife and *James Ackers* my son my executors, and *John Ogle*, gent, and *Richard Mollineux* supervisors.

Among the debts are *William*, *Richard*, *John*, *Margaret*, and *Ellen Tarleton*, children of *James Tarleton*, deceased, (who seems to have been the first husband of Peter Ackers's wife) *George Caldwell* of Huyton, *Roger Tyrer* of Knowsley, *David Rishton* of West Derby, *Anne Wyke*, my sister, *Edwarde Torbocke* Esquier,

Henry Halsall of West Derby, *Richard ffarrington* of Huiton Hey, gent.

Witnesses : *David Rishton, John Mercer, Thomas Mercer, John Johnson, George Caldwell* and others.

Inventory 24 August, 1598. £192 : 7 : 0.

Proved 19 Sep. 1598.

Will of Anne Ackers, widow, 1612.

26 January 1611. *Anne Ackers* late wife of *Peter Ackers*, of Westderbie, co. Lanc. To be buried at Walton. To *Richard Tarlton* my sonne £8. To *John Tarlton*, son of *William Tarlton* 5s. To *Jane* and *Anne* daughters of *John Marser* 10s. between them. To *Ellin* my daughter one heffer calfe. To *John Tarlton* my sonne all my waynes whilles ploujhes cartes &c. &c. Residue to be divided among my five children *William Tarlton, Richard Tarlton, Marye Ackers Anne Ackers* and *Lettice Ackers.* Executors *John Marser*, my sonne in lawe and *William Marser* of Thingwall. Overseers my friends *William Molineux* of Robye & *Thomas Henshaw.*

Witnesses : *Henerye Leigh, John Tarlton, Ellin Molineux* with others.

The list of debts mentions "*James Tarlton* my servant" and others.

Inventory calls her *Anne Ackers* late wyfe of *Peter Ackers* of Westderbie deceased and was taken 2 February 9 James [1611-12] £142 : 12 : 5. Proved 12 February 1611[-12].

And now a word about the situation of Acres Hall. Mr. Baines tries to connect Captain Acres, whose armorial bearings were to be seen in St. Nicholas's Church in 1590, with "Acres Hall, "Salford, afterwards Lark Hill, [which is] now the Salford Royal "Borough Museum and Library, &c.," called Peel Park, and adds that Colonel James Ackers, who formerly resided there, was High Sheriff of Lancashire in the year 1800. But from the fact that all the obtainable information respecting the Acres family congregates round Liverpool, it would seem extremely probable that Acres Hall was somewhere not very far distant from St. Nicholas's Church, instead of at the other side of the county, and it would be interesting if some member of the Historic Society, who possesses the necessary local knowledge, could identify the site of the residence of the father of the successful Liverpool soldier who lived in the days of "good Queen Bess."

INCE BLUNDELL CHARTERS.*

Transcribed and translated for the Historic Society, July, 1881, by T. N. Morton.

NOTE.—These Charters are all without dates, but, from the names of the witnesses, are evidently of the 13th century.

12.—RICHARD BLUNDELL TO HUGO, SON OF ALAN DE AYNOLISDALE.

Grant of a Messuage upon the embankment of the River (Alt) at the Old Pool, beyond the Out-lone, with five acres of Land in Low-angle, in Ince, with Common Pasture for 8 oxen, 8 cows, 60 sheep and 2 horses, to him and his heirs for a yearly rent of 20 silver pennies.

Witnesses :

1 Sir Henry de Lehe
2 William le Molyneus
3 Alan Norreys
4 Gilbert de Halsale
5 Robert de Molinheus
6 Robert de Lachford,† Clerk.

13.—HUGO DE AYNOLSDALE TO WILLIAM BLUNDEL.

Quitclaim and release of all right and claim to the Messuage above mentioned, and to the five acres of Land in Ince [Hynes]

Witnesses :

1 Sir Henry de Lee
2 William de Molinaus
3 Robert de Molynaus
4 Amauric de Thorinton
5 Robert Blundel
6 John son of William [Blundel ?]
7 William his brother
8 Walter, Clerk, &c., or and others.

* Continued from page 198, vol. xxxii., *Trans. His. Soc. of Lanc. and Chesh.*

† Lachford, a passage across the Mersey, near Warrington.—*Coucher Book of Whalley*, p. 409.

14.—JORDAN DE DERBEE TO WILLIAM LE BOTILER.

Release or quitclaim of all his right and claim to the worship of the heirs of John Blundell of Ince, of which wardship Robert Earl of Ferrers and Sir William le Botiler have a deed which they now deliver to William le Botiler.

Witnesses :

1 S^{r} Robt. de la Ferrers
2 Sir Adam de Hoton, militib^{5}
3 Will. de la Mar
4 Henr. de Tildislee
5 Gilb. de Sothworth
6 Hugo de Penket
7 Baudewyn de Lee, Clerk.

15.—WILLIAM MOLYNEUS, SON OF ADAM, TO RICHARD FLOCKE.

Grant of a Messuage and 3½ acres of Land in the Marsh in Ince which William Mylchy held by gift of Richard Blundell who had it from Sir William Buttelers, and which, after the death of Richard my brother, descended to me by inheritance. Yearly Rent seven pence, half at Lady-day and half at Michaelmas.

Witnesses :

1 Sir Henry Lee, Knight
2 Jordan de Derby (?)
3 Henr. de Aintree
4 Amaur. de Thornton
5 Robert Molyneus
6 Ric. de Aintree
7 Robt. de Thorneton
8 Adam, Judge of Litherland
9 Adam, Judge of Sefton
10 Robert Banastre (?)

(From an ancient translation, on paper.)

16.—ROBT., SON OF RICH. BLUNDEL, TO WILLIAM BLUNDEL.

Quitclaim of all right and claim in Lands near the Cow-holm in Ince to William Blundel my lord and lord of Ince.

Witnesses :

1 Ric. de Molineus
2 Robt. de Molineus
3 Nich. Blundel
4 Amaur. de Thornton
5 Ad. Judge of Litherland
6 Will. Judge of Sefton

Small circular seal of Robt. Blundell.

17.—WILL. BLUNDEL SON OF JOHN, TO MATH. DE MOLINEUS.

Grant of 5 acres of Waste in the Ox-angle in Ince, with a Messuage 8 perches in length and 2 in breadth, and Common Pasture for 8 oxen, 8 calves and 60 sheep. Rent 20d. silver at the Nativity of S. John Baptist yearly.

Witnesses :

1 Sir Henry de Lee
2 Will. de Molineus
3 Alan Norrensi
4 Robt. de Molineus
5 Amaur. de Thornton
6 Nicholas Blundel

Oval seal of William Blundel, with fleur de lis.

18.—MARGERY GRENOLE TO WILLIAM BLUNDEL, SON OF JOHN.

Release of all her right and claim to four acres of Land in Ince, near the land of Peter de Laylondechyre, from Margery widow of Gilbert de Grenole.

Witnesses :

1 Will. le Molineus
2 Nich. Blundel
3 Amaur. de Thorneton
4 Will. de Heyntre
5 Rob. de Molineus
6 Adam, Judge of Litherland.
7 Will. Judge of Sefton

19.—WILL. BLUNDEL, SON OF JOHN, TO RICHARD FLOCK.

Grant of certain land in Ince, with which Richard Blundel enfeoffed Robert the Carpenter of Melis [Maghul], to Richard Flock for his homage and service, and fourteen pence yearly Rent, reserving the rights of the religious and the chief lord of the fee.

Witnesses :

1 Sir Henry de Lee, Knt.
2 Jordan de Derby
3 Amaur. de Thorinton
4 Robt. de Molyneus
5 Will. de Ayntre
6 Ad. Judge of Litherland

Oval seal of William Blundel.

Ormskirk, 18th February, 1881.

DEAR SIR,

In the last issued vol. (xxxii.) of the Historic Society's *Transactions*, I find on p. 198, a note from Miss ffarington, discrediting a statement of mine in a paper on "Discoveries made "during certain alterations at Ormskirk Church," (p. 149, vol. xxx.)

My authority for what I said is Draper's *House of Stanley*, published at Ormskirk in 1864, by Mr. Hutton, proprietor of the *Ormskirk Advertiser*, in the pages of which journal the work first appeared, in a series of weekly chapters.

Miss ffarington is almost certain to have that work, and must have read as follows, under the heading of "*A View of the* "*Garrison, &c.*" "*Her Captains*" (p. 136). "Captain Henry "Ogle, Captain Edward Chisenhall, Captain Edward Rawstorne, "Captain William Farmer, Captain Molyneux Radcliffe, Captain "Richard Fox, assisted in their consultations by William Far- "rington, of Worden, Esq., who for executing the commission of "array, and attending her ladyship in her troubles, had suffered "the seizure of all his personal estates, and the sequestration of "all his lands."

According to Miss ffarington's letter to you, a William ffarington lived between 1602 and 1672, and the siege of Lathom House took place in the years 1644-5; consequently, if Mr. Draper's statement is correct (and I am not in a position to disprove it), I was justified in drawing a conclusion from it, which only went to prove the existence of a devoted feeling on the part of the Mr. ffarington in question.

I am, yours faithfully,

JAS. DIXON.

C. T. Gatty, Esq.

Jan. 27th, 1882.

SIR,

That the ffaringtons were at the Siege of Lathom is a matter of county history, and that the elder died in 1658 and the younger in 1672 is matter of family history; but in no case can either be the "This gentleman," &c., whose pew in Ormskirk Church is dated 1693, as asserted in page 11 of "Ormskirk "Church Notes." Whether the mistake is Mr. Draper's or Mr. Dixon's I cannot say, but in any case the mistake speaks for itself.

I remain, yours truly,

S. M. FFARINGTON.

C. T. Gatty, Esq.

PROCEEDINGS,

THIRTY-THIRD SESSION, 1880-81.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,

Royal Institution, Colquitt Street, Liverpool, January 20th, 1881,

F. J. BAILEY, L.R.C.P., VICE-PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

REPORT.

DURING the past Session, thirteen papers have been read before the Society, eight of which are in the volume for 1880. With the exception of the late Rev. D. Haigh's paper, upon some coins in the Mayer Museum, all these papers are of local archæological interest.

At the commencement of the Session, the President gave an opening address, treating exclusively of the past, present, and future work of the Society, and appealed to the Members in an encouraging and well-advised manner, begging them to come forward and support the Council.

During the past Session, twenty-one New Members have been elected, and from the addresses of these gentlemen, it is evident that the Society is making its way into various parts of the counties, and enlisting county Members.

Many of the Members were in arrears with their subscriptions, and some of them hardly appeared to think they were Members; but our Treasurer has been successful in obtaining no less than £64 1s. 6d. worth of arrears, and it is to be hoped that the Members will spare both Treasurer and Secretary correspondence and anxiety, by a rather more prompt payment of their subscriptions.

The volume for 1880 contains eighty-two pages more than its predecessor, and is printed and illustrated in even better style. At the end of the volume are some miscellaneous communications, and amongst these are some of the valuable Charters from Ince Blundell, transcribed and translated by Mr. T. N. Morton, and edited by the Rev. T. E. Gibson. This group of Charters, illustrated with an admirable lithograph fac-simile of one of the originals, is a most invaluable addition to the volume.

At a Special General Meeting, held on October 5th, 1880, the Laws of the Society—having been re-cast and amended by the Council—were formally adopted by the Society. Amongst the principal changes in the Laws, it may be noticed that the Society's year commences now on the 1st of January, instead of the 18th of October, and subscriptions become due on that day; the Annual Meeting is also held in January.

The Treasurer presents a Balance Sheet, from which Members will be enabled to see the financial position of the Society.

November 4th, 1880.

T. G. RYLANDS, F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

Several objects of interest were exhibited by Charles T. Gatty, Hon. Sec. The following paper was read :—

"ON GRAPPENHALL CHURCH." *By Thomas Barns.*

November 18th, 1880.

T. G. RYLANDS, F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

The following objects of interest were exhibited : —

By Dr. Bailey.

A well-executed photograph of the "Colchester Sphinx," an interesting relic of the Roman occupation in Britain, which was discovered in 1821, while digging the foundations of the Essex and Colchester Hospital. It represents the Theban Sphinx seated over the mangled remains of one of its human victims. The upper half of the monster is that of a woman, the parts being beautifully formed. Instead of hands she has paws, and on her shoulders are eagle's wings, raised but not expanded ; below the waist, the figure takes the form of some animal, apparently a lioness. Between the monster's paws is a human head.

By Mr. Bendall.

A silver medal, dated 17th century. On one side it bears a Pope's head with tiara if viewed one way, with crown if viewed the other ; the inscription on this side seems to be "In virtute tua lætabitur "justus" On the other side a Cardinal's head, with the inscription "Constitues eos principes super omnem terram."

By Mr. Jacob.

Four Roman coins, found in the Silver Stream Valley, near Aberystwith.

By Charles T. Gatty, F.S.A., Hon. Secretary.

A small book entitled "Bona Mors, or the Art of Dying Happily in the Congregation of Jesus Christ Crucify'd and of his Condoling Mother. The Eighth Edition. Apoc. xiv. 13. Sold by G. Green, Liverpool." Bound up with this is "The Daily Companion, or a little pocket Manual: containing those devotions which are necessary to be performed every day by all Catholics who have leisure, etc. Collected from Catholic Authors and embellished with proper Cuts. The Seventh Edition. Printed in the year MDCCLXV." On the back of the frontispiece, "The Daily Companion. The Seventh Edition, with Additions. Liverpool: Printed and Sold by John Sadler, in Harrington Street, where all sorts of Catholic Books may be had, wholesale or retail, at the lowest prices."

The following paper was read :—

"Lancashire in the Time of Charles the Second." *By Lieut.-Col. Fishwick, F.S.A.*

December 2nd, 1880.

F. J. Bailey, Vice-President, in the Chair.

Several Egyptian objects were exhibited by A. Dodgson, Esq., of Limehurst, Ashton-under-Lyne, through Charles T. Gatty, Hon. Sec.

The following paper was read :—

"Some Old Country Sports. From the Crosby Records." *By the Rev. T. E. Gibson.*

January 13th, 1881.

E. W. M. Hance, LL.B., in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By E. G. Duff. (Through the Hon. Sec.)

A flint javelin head, in admirable state of preservation, found in the Island of Harris, N.B.

By W. T. Watkin. (Through the Hon. Sec.)

Two Liverpool halfpennies, dated respectively 1791 and 1792.

By Charles Potter.

A numerous and valuable collection of neolithic flints, fragments of picks made from the horns of the Red Deer, also fragments of shovels made from the *scapula* or shoulder-blade of the same animal. These interesting specimens of pre-historic handiwork were dug out of the great camp at Cissbury, on the South Downs, about four miles north of Worthing, and are presented to the Mayer Museum by Mr. Ballard, senior, of Broadwater.

By T. N. Morton.

Fac-similes of various charters between the years 1195 and 1593. Also one original charter dated 21 Edward IV., in Latin, being a settlement of Egergarth by James Scaresbricke.

The following paper was read :—

"Sunday in Lancashire and Cheshire." *By W. E. A. Axon.*

January 27th, 1881.

F. J. Bailey, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By Charles T. Gatty, Hon. Sec.

A silver finger ring of large size, with raised forget-me-not flowers and heart; and round the outside, in raised Gothic letters of twisted silver wire, upon a ground of the same, the word ALLUMET. Inside, a name and date—J. H. Hindley, Sept 21, 1802. From the Mayer Museum. No. 5949.

The following paper was read :—

"The Roman Roads of Lancashire." *By W. T. Watkin.*

February 10th, 1881.

E. W. M. Hance, LL.B., in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By P. Cowell.

1. One of the earliest specimens known of Liverpool printing, viz. :— A pamphlet by the Rev. Henry Richmond, formerly Rector of

Liverpool, entitled "The Institution and Efficacy of the Holy Eucharist: a Sermon at St. Peter's Church, Liverpool, 27th September, 1719. Published in a small character for the benefit of meaner people." Printed by S. Terry, in Dale Street, 1719.

2. Two gems of the Elzevir Press: the first editions of the Cæsar of 1635 and the Virgil of 1636.

3. An exceedingly well-printed folio Bible, with Commentary by Dr. Adam Clarke. Printed by Messrs. Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon, at the Caxton Press, Liverpool, 1813.

4. The Christian's Complete Family Bible, illustrated with Notes and Commentaries by several Eminent Divines of the Church of England. Printed by George Woods, in Prince's Street, Liverpool, in 1780.

By Charles T. Gatty, Hon. Sec.

A collar of lace, probably English, from the Mayer Museum. No. 5906.

The following paper was read :—

"On a Mock Corporation held in Sephton Parish." *By the Rev. E. Horley, M.A., Rector of Sephton Parish.*

February 24th, 1881.

F. J. Bailey, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By Charles T. Gatty, Hon. Sec.

2. A stone with devices and letters carved upon it. On one side a bird, glove, and candle, and the letters, G.C.L.M.Q.T.L.P.E. On the reverse, a ship, birds, and the letter N. ; probably a rebus of some description.

4. A series of photographs—the South Sea Anthropological Album of the Museum Godeffroy at Hamburgh.

5. A circular medallion in silver, with small oblong hook for suspension. On one side is engraved an open book with inkstand and pen at the top, with star above. Around is the legend—"*Hawarden * Sic itur ad astra,*" and the date 1803. On the other side are the initials J.G. in the centre, under a laurel branch ; and

around the legend—"*Excitatur . Laude . Emulatio.*" This small medallion is as thin, or perhaps thinner, than a threepenny piece, and measures 1¼in. in diameter. It was found, curiously enough, at the bottom of the cistern at Mrs. Turner's house, Dingle Head, Liverpool. Mrs. Turner has lived for many years in the house, but is unable to account for the presence of this medallion in the cistern.

The following paper was read :—

"Extracts from the Registers of the Old Nonconformist Chapel, Dukinfield, Cheshire, as kept by the Rev. Samuel Angier, 1677 to 1713." *By J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A.*

E. W. M. Hance, LL.B., in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By P. Cowell.

A log-book of Robert Bosbeck, master of the ship "Bloom," of Liverpool, engaged in the slave trade between Guinea and the West Indies. It contains accounts of lots of slaves sold, the price each individual realized, and the names of the various purchasers.

A communication was read on "Samian" ware and other pottery, glass, coins, etc., found at the Roman Stations of Lancaster and Manchester, by Charles T. Gatty, F.S.A., Hon. Sec.

The following paper was read :—

"Notes on a Roman Inscription found at Brough-under-Stanemoor." By W. T. Watkin.

March 24th, 1881.

F. J. Bailey, Vice-President, in the Chair.

Several objects of Liverpool Pottery, &c., illustrating the paper of the evening, were exhibited by Charles T. Gatty, Hon. Sec.

The following paper was read :—

"On the Liverpool Potteries." *By Charles T. Gatty, F.S.A., Hon. Sec.*

NEW MEMBERS ELECTED.

Nov. 18, 1880.	Duff, E. Gordon, Park Nook, Prince's Park, Liverpool.
	Gatty, A. S., Rouge Dragon, Herald's College, London.
	Greenall, Henry, Grappenhall Hall, Warrington.
	Taylor, Henry, 4, Buckingham Crescent, Victoria Park, Manchester.
	Walker, T. Shadford, 88, Rodney street, Liverpool.
Dec. 2, 1880.	Greenall, Rev. Thomas, M.A., Hon. Canon of Chester, Grappenhall, Warrington.
	Monk, James B. Lingard, M.A., Alderley Edge, near Manchester.
Jan. 27, 1881.	Gray, Rev. Andrew E. P., Wolsingham, Durham.
	Jones, T. R., Bank House, Market Drayton.
	Burnley Literary and Scientific Club, Burnley. (W. F. Grant, Hon. Sec.)
Dec. 1, 1881.	Powell, Thomas, Bootle College, Bootle.
	Bourne, Robert W. Wick's lane, Formby.
Dec. 15, 1881.	Broadbent, Charles, The Hollies, Latchford, Warrington.
	Hodgkin, Thomas, Benwelldene, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
	Odgers, Rev. James Edwin, M.A., Fellow of University College, London, 11, Bertram road, Liverpool, S.
	Simpson, Herbert Orry, Kingston House, Chester.
	Glazebrook, Michael George, 34, Hawkshead street, Southport.
	Leyland, George, The Grange, Hindley, Wigan.

THE HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE,

ENDING 31ST DECEMBER, 1880.

In Account with JOHN G. JACOB, *Treasurer.*

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.
1879.			
Dec. 31—Balance in hand	15	3	6
Subscriptions:—			
Arrears	64	1	6
Session xxxii	80	13	6
Paid in advance	13	2	6
Books sold	4	16	0
	£177	17	0

PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Volume xxxii.:—			
Printing £66 1 6			
Illustrations 14 9 0			
	80	10	6
Sessional Expenses:—			
Rent, Royal Institution	10	10	0
Refreshments	8	4	10
Miscellaneous Printing	6	8	7
Hon. Secretary's Expenses ..	5	1	0
Postage and Stationery, per Treasurer	1	17	4
Assistant Secretary's Salary ..	15	15	0
Collector's Commission	1	10	2
Postage, &c., per Assistant Secretary	3	11	5
Postage, Printing, &c., per Mr. Brakell	19	1	11
Insurance	0	16	0
Repairing Cases, &c.	4	15	10
Ordnance Map	2	2	0
Balance in hand	17	12	5
	£177	17	0

Audited, January 21st, 1881.

F. J. BAILEY.

E. & O. E.

DONATIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

1.—England.

Report of the Kensington Antiquarian Society, 1873-76.

Transactions of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archæological Society; vol. v. part 2.

Reports and Papers of the Architectural Societies of the Diocese of Lincoln, County of York, &c., for 1879.

Liverpool. Proceedings of the Liverpool Natural History Club, for 1879-80.

London. Archæological Journal, vol. xxxvii. Nos. 146, 147, 148.

Royal Asiatic Society;—Journal of, vol. xii. parts 2, 3, 4; vol. xiii. part 1.

Royal Society;—Proceedings of, vol. xxx. No. 285; vol. xxxi. No. 208.

London and Middlesex Archæological Society;—Transactions of, part 16.

Memoirs of the Royal Astronomical Society, vol. xlv.

Statistical Society;—Journal of, vol. xliii. parts 2, 4.

Geological Society;—Quarterly Journal of, vol. xxxvi. No. 144.

Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London, vol. viii. No. 2.

Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society;—Original Papers of, and vol. ix, part 1.

Archæologia Cantiana, vol. xiii.

Archæologia Æliani, or Tracts relating to Antiquity; published by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne; vol. vii. part 24.

Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, vol. v.

Ditto;—Proceedings of, vols. xvi. xvii. xviii. and xix.

Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History, vol. v. No. 2.

Collection of the Surrey Archæological Society, vol. vii. part 3.

2.—Ireland.

Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland;—Journal of, vol. v. Fourth Series, No. 39.

Royal Archæological Society of Ireland, vol. v, No. 41.

Royal Irish Academy ;—Proceedings of, vol ii. No. 1 ; vol. iii. No. 4.

Ditto ;—Transactions of, vol. xxxvi. part 22.

3.—Foreign.

Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, for 1838.

Atti della Ra. Accademia del Lincei, 3a S., vol. iv. fasc. 7 ; vol. v. fasc. 1, 2, 3, 4.

Bulletin de la Societé Archéologique et Historique de l'Orleanais, tome vii. Nos. 102, 103, 104, and 105.

Bulletin de la Societé des Antiquaires de Picardie, tome xiii.

Atti della Società Toscana di Scienze Naturali, Nov. 1880.

4.—Miscellaneous.

Collectanea Antiqua. By Charles Roach Smith. Vol. ix. part 1.

Catalogue of the Antiquities of the Colchester Museum. Presented by Dr. F. J. Bailey.

"On a Bastion of London Wall," or Excavations in Camomile Street, Bishopgate. By J. E. Price, F.S.A. (By the Author.)

The Story of the Embarkation of Cromwell and his Friends for New England. Boston, 1866.

Sketch of the Life of William Blanchard Towne. By J. W. Dean.

A Brief Memoir of the Reverend Giles Firmin, one of the Ejected Ministers of 1662. By J. W. Dean.

Sketch of the Life of J. H. Shepherd, M.A. By J. W. Dean.

A Memoir of the Reverend Nathaniel Ward. By J. W. Dean.

(The five books last named were presented by J. W. Dean, of Boston, Mass., U.S.A.)

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